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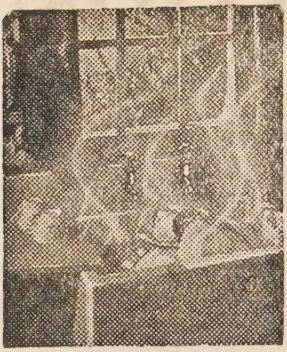

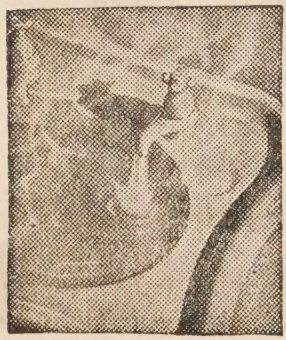

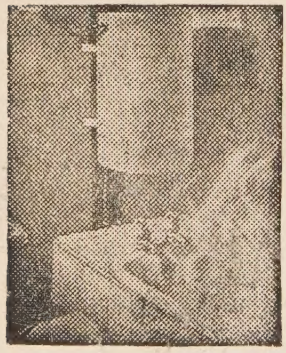

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VOL. XXV No. 99

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

SEPTEMBER 1936

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Minister for Agriculture 1922–1932

BY GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.
Professor of Economics, University College, Dublin

ON the day after Patrick Hogan's premature and tragically sudden death President de Valera gracefully said of him in the Dail that he was a loss to the nation as well as to his own party. It is in the spirit of that tribute that this quite inadequate appreciation is written. Hogan was, of course, a strong party man, but at the same time he never would have allowed his loyalty to his party to deflect him from doing what he thought right in regard to the subject which he held most precious, the prosperity of Irish agriculture. That no such conflict of loyalties ever arose is due largely to the fact that the economic policy of his party was inspired principally by his ideas. An attempt will be made in this short article to explain what those ideas were, and to relate them to the course of Irish agricultural policy during Hogan's term of office and after his retirement. This explanation will necessarily involve some reference to party politics, but the effort is sincerely made to avoid all partisan discussion and to deal with these controversial matters as impartially as the nature of the subject permits.

Before attempting to explain the principles underlying Hogan's policy I must say a word or two about the man himself. He and I were students together in University College, and the friendship which we formed in those days proved lasting and strong. During his tenure of office I had the honour to serve on three commissions which considered different aspects of Irish agricultural problems, the Commission on Agriculture 1922, the Economic Committee 1928, and the Derating Commission 1929, as well as on the Fiscal Inquiry Committee 1923, where the agricultural issue, though not directly in the terms of reference, was in the background.

My experience thus gained taught me many things, but the thing which it taught me above all else was the amazing ability and courage of the Minister for Agriculture. I am glad to think that we saw eye to eye on all the highly contentious problems with which these bodies were called upon to deal, and am proud to have shared his unpopularity in relation to certain matters where he set his face against interested clamour and ignorant prejudice.

Part of the secret of Hogan's greatness was that he had the courage to be unpopular. One of the defects of democratic institutions is that politicians are tempted to flatter the masses and to conciliate rather than to educate public opinion. Hogan was as far as possible from being a demagogue, in that he always said what he believed to be true rather than what he believed to be popular. Another defect of democracy is that short views tend to prevail over long, and that immediate gains are apt to be overvalued in relation to distant advantages. With Hogan this was never the case. The reason for his rare appreciation of different values was that his policy was grounded on certain well defined and consistent principles. All his premises may not have been as correct as they seemed at the time, and some of his assumptions may have failed him, but at least it can be said that his conclusions were consistent with his premises and that the different parts of his policy were consistent with each other.

Lest the impression might be conveyed that Hogan was a doctrinaire working from unreal hypotheses, it must be added that he was a complete master of all the technical and statistical details of Irish agriculture, as well as being a good practical farmer. No politician ever had his feet more firmly on the hard ground of fact. It will be suggested later that the *data* of the Irish agricultural problem altered in the years 1931-2 and that, some of Hogan's earlier assumptions having proved unreliable, certain changes in his policy became desirable. If he had continued in office, it is probable that he would have been the first to realise that a changed situation required a change of treatment, because he had the elasticity of mind and the power of adaptability that are the marks

of true as distinguished from false consistency. He was much too good a scientist to ignore changes in his *data*. And a scientist he certainly was, if economics be allowed to rank as a science, for he seemed to grasp by intuition principles which less gifted economists learn only after years of study.

Hogan started from the assumption that agriculture was and would remain by far the most important industry in the Free State, and that the touchstone by which every economic measure must be judged was its effect on the prosperity of the farmers. He believed that economic policy should be directed to maximize the farmers' income, because, the farmers being the most important section of the population, everything that raised their income raised the national income of the country. Prosperity amongst farmers would provide the purchasing power necessary to sustain the demand for non-agricultural goods and services, and it was useless to encourage secondary industries unless the primary industry was in a position to purchase their products. The principal aim of agricultural policy in the Free State should therefore be the maximization of the farmers' income, and not, as in certain other countries differently situated, the provision of food for the urban population or the solution of the unemployment problem. It is a commonplace of agricultural economics that these different objectives cannot be simultaneously attained, and that each can be achieved only at the expense of abandoning, to some extent, the others. Hogan had no doubt which was the most important objective to aim at in the Free State, and his whole policy reflected his opinion that the prosperity of the agricultural industry itself, and not the subsidiary aims of defence against food shortage in wartime or the reduction of unemployment, should be the outstanding objective of agricultural policy. Moreover, he claimed that a prosperous agriculture would incidentally provide abundant food and employment.

The central principle of political economy is that the statesman must utilize the national resources in the manner best calculated to maximize the welfare of the country, and that, in doing so, he must constantly choose between alternative

courses which cannot be simultaneously pursued. If there arises a conflict between any class of producers and the nation as a whole, the interests of the latter must prevail. Thus a thickly populated urbanized country may insist on farmers producing abundant supplies of human foodstuffs as a safeguard against the danger of famine in the event of war, and the agriculture in such a country may properly be deflected from the type most profitable to the farmer to the type most useful to the nation. In the Free State such a conflict between the interests of the farmers and the interests of the nation is exceedingly improbable, because the farmers and their dependents constitute the great majority of the population. Any deflection of the agricultural industry from the direction which is naturally most profitable is therefore exceedingly difficult to justify. In the Free State the interests of the farmers and of the nation are, at least *prima facie*, identical, and the best utilization of the resources of the country is that which maximizes the prosperity of the farming classes.

If these assumptions be valid, it is easy to draw the conclusion that agricultural policy must aim at the maximization of net rather than gross yields. The gross yield represents the actual amount of physical product taken off the land, whereas the net yield represents the difference between what is taken off the land and what has to be put into the land to obtain it. Agricultural production is so strongly subject to the law of diminishing returns that an increase in the gross yield is frequently obtained at a quite disproportionate increase of cost, and the gross yield may continue to increase long after the point where the net yield has begun to diminish. From the farmer's standpoint it is the net yield that is important, since this is the measure of his profit—that is the difference between what he puts into the land (by the expenditure both of money and of his own labour) and what he takes out of it. A large gross yield obtained at a disproportionate cost may be satisfactory from the point of view of food supply or of the provision of employment, but from the farmer's point of view it is bad business, and he would have been better advised to pursue a less intensive cultivation. Gross yields measure the

prosperity of the land, but net yields are the measure of the prosperity of the men on the land.

If the maximization of the net yield be accepted as the correct end of agricultural policy, the means by which this end can be attained is the concentration of production on those commodities for which the country possesses the greatest comparative advantage. The benefit derived from the division of labour and the exchange of goods, whether between individuals, localities or nations, is maximized when every producer concentrates on the production of those commodities for which he possesses the greatest comparative advantage, or, to put it otherwise, the least comparative disadvantage. It is very common for one person or one region to enjoy a superiority over another person or region in regard to the production of several different things, but the net output of the exchanging parties will be increased if the richer concentrates on the production of those things in which he possesses the most marked superiority and the poorer on the production of those things in which he possesses the least marked inferiority. The Free State is superior to most other countries in its capacity to produce a large variety of agricultural commodities, but its superiority is greatest in regard to live-stock and live-stock products, and the agricultural income will be *prima facie* maximized if production is concentrated on these products, and the other products in which the superiority is less marked are obtained by importing them in exchange for the articles for which the country possesses quite exceptional advantages.

At the time that Hogan assumed office, Irish agriculture had been unsheltered for nearly eighty years, and farmers had been driven by hard necessity to discover what lines of production paid them best. It may be taken that the type of agricultural production engaged in as the result of eighty years of experience was that for which the country possessed the greatest comparative advantage. Farmers are good judges of their own business, and it is unlikely that they had been mistaken in deciding which commodities could be most profitably produced. The first maxim of policy must therefore be that

they should not be deflected into other lines of production. Such a deflection could be obtained only at somebody's cost. If it were obtained by compelling farmers to grow crops which they did not wish to grow, the cost would be incurred by the farmers themselves; if it were obtained by subsidies or bounties, the cost would be incurred by the taxpayer; if it were obtained by import duties on food, the cost would be incurred by the urban consumer; and in every case the nation as a whole would incur a cost by having its resources diverted from more profitable to less profitable uses. The imposition of such sacrifices could be justified only by some urgent consideration of national policy, and no such consideration was to be found in the Free State.

The experience of many years had taught Irish farmers the best market as well as the best type of output, and they had come to produce large quantities of live-stock and live-stock products for export to Great Britain. The great difficulty about production for export is that the price at which exported articles are sold is outside the control of the government of the country where the production takes place. Here, therefore, were the *data* of the problem with which Hogan was confronted: (1) agricultural policy must be directed towards the maximization of the farmers' profit; (2) the farmers' profit is the difference between what they put into the land and what they take out of it, *i.e.* the difference between costs of production and selling prices; (3) selling prices were, in most cases, outside the control of the Free State government. When the problem is stated in this way, it becomes obvious that the only thing the government could do to help the farmer was to assist him to reduce his costs of production. Every measure taken before the depression began in 1931 (with the single exception of the bounty on sugar beet, about which Hogan was never very enthusiastic) can be shown to be part of a programme designed to reduce the farmers' costs.

Everything that was done to increase the efficiency of agricultural output and marketing helped to reduce the real or money costs of production. While the farmer was admitted to be the best judge of what to produce, he had much to learn

regarding how to produce it. Therefore the educational schemes of the existing Department of Agriculture were extended and supplemented, and a whole series of measures was passed making compulsory improvements in the quality of live-stock and live-stock products. Cooperation was encouraged and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society received an increased grant for this purpose. The rationalization of the creamery industry was a bold and original scheme, which demonstrates that Hogan was no slave to traditionalism or *laissez faire*, but was prepared to employ drastic measures when they were necessary for the success of his policy. Capital facilities were provided on the cheapest possible terms. The Land Act of 1923 improved the terms on which tenants could purchase their holdings, advances were made by the Department of Agriculture for the introduction of improved methods, and the Agricultural Credit Corporation was established in 1927. The grant in aid of local rates on agricultural land was more than doubled, and, although the Derating Commission refused to recommend complete agricultural derating, it recommended, as an alternative mode of assisting the industry, still further expenditure on educational schemes. The keynotes of policy during these years were: the reduction of the cost of production, the improvement of the quality and the increase of the output of those articles for which Ireland possessed the greatest comparative advantage. "Quality must be our watchword" was a saying which Hogan often repeated.

The free importation of a wide range of agricultural products is a necessary corollary of a policy of this kind. Agricultural imports will consist either of articles which form part of the raw material of agricultural production, for example, animal feeding stuffs and artificial manures, or of articles for the production of which the comparative advantage of the Free State is not very marked, for example, wheat and tobacco. Any obstacle to such imports will have the result either of increasing costs of production in agriculture or of deflecting production from more to less profitable products. Furthermore the protection of industrial goods must be regarded with great caution, as it is admitted that the immediate, as distinguished

from the ultimate, effect of protection is the raising of the price of the protected articles, and there is nothing to be gained by taking away from the farmer with one hand what has been given him with the other. In the circumstances of the Free State a certain amount of industrial protection was necessary, but its application needed to be carefully scrutinized because, if it were unduly rapid or unduly widespread, it might have the effect of raising agricultural costs and reducing the purchasing power of farmers' incomes. There was therefore a perfect consistency between the agricultural and industrial aspects of Hogan's policy : the work of one department must not be permitted to neutralize the work of the other, and whenever a conflict of interest arose, that of the agricultural producer must be considered paramount.

There is no such thing as an absolutely right or an absolutely wrong economic policy. Every policy must be judged in relation to the circumstances of the place and the time of its application, and, when such circumstances change, changes in policy may become necessary. If Hogan's policy be regarded in relation to the situation in the Free State for the first ten years after the treaty, it can be defended on the following grounds. In the first place, it utilized to the maximum the physical and geographical resources of the country ; secondly, it developed those branches of production which are particularly suitable for the average Irish farm ; thirdly, it did not involve any breach of continuity in the tradition of Irish farming or in the constructive programme of the Department of Agriculture ; fourthly, it promised to provide abundant rural employment, as the agricultural statistics prove that mixed farming with dairying as its principal feature gives more employment per acre than almost any other type of agricultural activity ; fifthly, food production would be stimulated and the population of the Free State could never be reduced to famine in wartime. The alternative objectives of agricultural policy, namely employment and food production, would thus be incidentally secured. The final justification of the policy is that it ensured that any public money spent on agriculture would be employed productively by being devoted to the

building up of the efficiency of the industry rather than to deflecting production from one line to another. This is an important consideration in a country in which a large part of the taxation necessary for the financing of agricultural schemes must of necessity be borne by the farmers themselves in their capacity of tax-payers.

In the actual circumstances of 1921-31 Hogan's policy was capable of a well reasoned justification, and it did in fact succeed in securing the enthusiastic support of the majority of practical farmers and a considerable measure of agricultural prosperity. About 1931, however, surrounding circumstances changed for reasons which were quite outside the control of anybody in the Free State, and adjustments became necessary in light of the new situation. The world agricultural depression, which began in 1929, was not felt in the Free State until 1931, and the first of the new emergency measures, for example the duties on butter, oats, oatmeal and bacon, were introduced in that year. It may be said that Hogan should have foreseen the coming of the depression, to which the only reply is that he can scarcely be blamed for failing to foresee an event which nobody else in the world foresaw. It may further be said that the Free State would have felt the depression less if the previous agricultural policy had been different, to which it can be replied that the actual extent of the depression, great as it was, was less in the Free State than in most other agricultural countries, and that its intensity was seriously aggravated by certain political complications in 1932 for which Hogan was in no way responsible.

Indeed, the student of agricultural economics has reason to regret that Hogan was not at the helm during the difficult years that followed 1931, as it would be intensely interesting to observe how this unbending realist would have faced the facts of the new situation. He was, in fact, considering what measures it would be advisable to adopt in the light of the altered circumstances, when he was ejected from office by the turn of the political wheel. He had been a splendid pilot in fair weather; how would he have behaved in foul? It is important to understand that the difficulties of Irish agriculture,

though very greatly exaggerated by the economic war, were not solely due to that cause. Hogan's policy had been based on certain premises which had ceased to be true after 1931. The *data* of the problem had changed and the old solution needed revision. The most important premise that had changed was the fiscal policy of Great Britain. Nobody not endowed with the gift of prophecy could have foreseen that Great Britain would resort to agricultural protection in 1932, and the occurrence of this event unquestionably gave rise to new problems, the solution of which called for the highest degree of skill. It would certainly have been interesting to see how Hogan would have acted in this difficult situation.

At this point it is impossible to avoid treading on the delicate ground of party politics, but some reference to the change of government in 1932 is essential to a complete discussion of Hogan's policy. The first thing that must be said is that the defeat of Hogan's party at the election in that year was partly (but of course only partly) the result of the onset of the agricultural depression, because farmers were generally becoming discontented at falling prices. The second thing that must be said is that the defeat of Hogan's party, in the events which actually happened, was the cause of greatly increasing the difficulty of the necessary adjustments of agricultural policy, since it was followed by the so-called economic war and the imposition of the British penal duties and quotas. It is not unfair to suggest that, if Hogan's party had been returned in 1932, the economic war would not have taken place and the agricultural situation would have been less difficult.

But whatever happened in the election of 1932, some changes in agricultural policy would have had to be made. As long as Great Britain allowed free imports of food, the possibility of expanding the agricultural output and, as a consequence, the agricultural income of the Free State was almost unlimited, and the Free State was in a position ultimately to outclass all its competitors in Denmark, New Zealand and elsewhere, given sufficient education and organization. But when Great Britain reverted to agricultural protec-

tion, something else besides mere technical efficiency became necessary if her markets were to be captured by Irish farmers. The Ottawa Conference took place at a very delicate moment for Irish agriculture, when it would have been possible for the Free State to secure exceptionally favourable concessions, since the maintenance of food production in Ireland has in recent years become an important consideration from the standpoint of British defence in wartime. The period of transition of British fiscal policy was the period when, above all other times, the Free State should have exploited to the full its resources of diplomacy and finesse and the advantages of its geographical situation. It is regrettable therefore that, owing to political differences, this was precisely the period when the Free State occupied the unenviable position in Great Britain of the least favoured nation.

If Hogan had been in the slightest degree selfish or vain about his reputation, he would have rejoiced at being out of office during these difficult years. The measures which have been taken to adjust Irish agriculture to the new situation may or may not commend one's admiration, but it must be remembered that many of them were dictated by necessity rather than by choice. It is true that the speed and the extent of the re-adaptation to changes in the outside world have been increased by the economic war, but it is equally true that, when any country's principal customer moves in the direction of self-sufficiency, that country may be forced to move in the same direction. Self-sufficiency is not an unequivocal benefit that can be assumed as an end of economic policy without special justification ; there is the self-sufficiency of poverty as well as of independence ; nobody is so self-sufficient as the beggar who has not the means of trading with his neighbours. But assuming that the Free State was forced to become more self-sufficient owing to circumstances outside its own control, it would have been exceedingly interesting to observe how Hogan would have eased the pains of the transition and obtained the necessary readjustments at the lowest cost. He had made the best of a good situation, and he could have been trusted to make the best of a bad one

but he must never be blamed for not having taken during years of prosperity measures that would have been appropriate during years of depression. He is a poor captain who shortens sail in a fair wind.

As it was, the extent of the readjustments and the rapidity with which they were made were intensified by the economic war, and the transition was accomplished at a speed that was inconvenient for the farmers, embarrassing for the government and expensive for the taxpayers. The replacement of agricultural and industrial imports by home-produced articles has been pushed forward with the utmost speed, and there is very little now in the list of goods imported that can be produced in the Free State at a reasonable cost, if at all. The extreme limits of self-sufficiency are almost reached if the standard of living is not to be reduced or radically altered, and there still remains a considerable importation of many kinds of commodities. If the population of the Free State rises in the future, or if the standard of living increases, or if, as is desirable, both increase together, imports will of necessity have to be increased. Owing to the narrow range of the Free State's natural resources, the development of manufactures will increase the demand for imports of capital goods, raw materials and articles consumed by the wage-earners in the new industries. The question at once arises how payment for these imports is to be made.

Imports must be paid for by exports of one sort or another. Let us examine the probable future trend of the exports from the Free State. The invisible exports are at present considerable, but they contain many wasting assets, and they will certainly tend to diminish with the passage of time. It therefore becomes most important that visible exports should be built up to take their place. The prospect of increasing the export of manufactured products, though not negligible, is not very great, and we are driven to the conclusion that the agricultural export trade must be looked to in the future, as in the past, to maintain the standard of living of the population. Of course it is possible to balance the country's external payments for short periods by the sale of foreign

investments, which really amounts to exporting capital assets. No country, any more than a private person, can live on its capital indefinitely, and hence we come back to the inescapable conclusion that the increase of agricultural exports is the necessary condition of such an increase of imports as will enable a growing population to enjoy a rising standard of living.

The argument in the last paragraph cannot be seriously controverted, and it has been admitted repeatedly by members of all political parties that the export trade in agricultural products must be maintained and encouraged in every possible way. The efforts now being made to secure external markets and the importance attached to improving the quality of live-stock and live-stock products are evidence of the anxiety felt regarding the future of the export trade. But the only things that the Free State can hope to export are those for the production of which it enjoys the greatest comparative advantage, and the only way in which that advantage can be utilized to the full is by the lowering of costs of production, the improvement of quality and the increase of output. Hogan's policy must therefore continue to be pursued by his successors, but it may be pursued in less favourable conditions and with less unsullied consistency and therefore with less striking success. Indeed the events of the last four years have proved how little even the most extreme fiscal derangement and political interference can alter the influences exerted by the basic physical and geographical factors on a country's external trade. One has only to examine the continued dependence of the average farmer on receipts from live-stock and live-stock products to realise the truth of this statement.

Is it possible, one is tempted to ask, that the effort at readjusting Irish agriculture has been overdone? Has the emergency been as great as the remedies administered would suggest? Have not short-period difficulties been met by measures appropriate to long-period changes? May there not have been an element of panic in some of the legislation of recent years? These are questions the answers to which the

future alone can reveal, but there is something to be said for the view that many of the conditions that have prevailed since 1931 will prove to have been transitory. The world agricultural depression is slowly rising, and would be rising less slowly were it not for the mutually destructive attempts of each nation to save itself in the slump; the best judges are of opinion that a rise of gold and sterling prices is probable, and it is well known that a rising price level confers a differential advantage on primary producers; the economic war will doubtless be settled some time; and British policy in regard to agricultural protection is still experimental and flexible, and is limited by considerations of maintaining access to external sources of food supply which could not be interrupted in war-time. The *data* of the Irish agricultural problem to-day are no more unchangeable than they were before the depression; indeed they have all the marks of impermanence since they have arisen in such abnormal conditions.

There are certain features in the present situation that suggest that the changes that are most likely to occur will be of a nature calculated to benefit those agricultural products for which Ireland possesses a high degree of comparative advantage. The population of Great Britain is tending to become stable in numbers while the standard of living is tending to rise. The development of such tendencies will increase the demand for live-stock and live-stock products relatively to that for cereals and the cheaper kinds of food. Furthermore there has arisen in the last year or two a new movement full of hope for the Irish farmer. Physiologists have declared that much of the human wastage caused by juvenile mortality and chronic disease amongst adults is due to unsuitable diet, and considerable study has been directed to the sciences connected with nutrition. A country with a falling birthrate must necessarily devote great attention to the quality of its people, and it is safe to predict that Great Britain will lead the way in improving the diet of the population, rich and poor. It is by no means improbable that the provision of suitable food will be regarded in the near future as a social service as important as the provision of water, education or medical

attendance. The British people, especially the children, will be expected and possibly required to eat proper food as part of their duty as good and useful citizens.

The relevance of these considerations to Ireland becomes obvious when it is explained that the unanimous opinion of the physiological experts is that the types of food that at present are most deficient are various animal foodstuffs, particularly milk and milk products. In other words, the whole trend of future demand in Great Britain, whether based on the natural preference which accompanies a rising standard of living or on the application of the findings of the study of nutrition, is likely to be directed towards those very articles for the production of which the Free State is physically most suitable and for the delivery of which it is (next to Great Britain itself) geographically most convenient. The development of these new influences on the demand for farm products has evoked a remarkable interest amongst English students of agricultural problems, and it is not unfair to state that the great majority of expert opinion in Great Britain is in favour of developing the production of live-stock and live-stock products, if necessary at the expense of the wheat and beet schemes. If this be the correct policy for Great Britain, with its huge urban population dependent on imported foodstuffs, it is *a fortiori* correct for the Free State, where the deflection of production into less profitable lines cannot be justified by analogous considerations regarding the urban food supply. There is no reason why the pursuance of this policy should not result in an increase in tillage and in rural employment, as home-grown feeding stuffs necessarily play a large part in the type of agriculture which it encourages.

It has been suggested that Hogan's greatness as Minister for Agriculture was the result of his realism and his readiness to adapt his policy to changes in the *data* of the problem before him. All will be well with agriculture in the Free State if his successors possess the same readiness to appreciate the changing needs of a changing situation and the same courage to practise true rather than false consistency. One matter in which there has been a considerable change in the *data* of

agriculture, in its technical as distinguished from its economic aspects, is the treatment of pasture land. Until recent years, pasturage was the stock example of extensive cultivation given in every text-book, but to-day there is growing up a new type of intensive pasturage which deserves the most thorough and open-minded study by everybody interested in the welfare of Irish agriculture ; and, pending the result of such inquiries, the greatest caution should be observed in breaking up good pastures, whether for the settlement of migrants or for subsidized tillage. The whole trend of expert opinion to-day is towards the appreciation of the immense potential wealth of good pasture-land, provided that it is treated with the respect and attention which it deserves but seldom receives. The development of our best pasture lands to their full capacity should not interfere in any way with the policy of increased tillage, because there is in every district a large proportion of second class land now under grass which can be devoted to crop rotations to supply our requirements in home-grown foods. Concurrently with taking advantage of our fine natural pastures Hogan strongly advocated the policy of increased tillage. Time and again he put before the average farmer as an ideal to be aimed at : " one more cow, one more sow, and a few more acres under the plough." This objective remains as valid to-day as when it was originally stated, and it will retain its validity in the future as long as the physical and geographical conditions of the Free State remain unchanged.

This short appreciation of a great career may be criticized on the ground that it deals with policy rather than with the man behind the policy. The answer to this criticism is that Hogan, who was the most modest of men, would have wished it thus. He lived for his work, and it is by his work that he will live in history. Moreover, his character can best be understood by the study of his policy, in which it was accurately reflected. The man and his work alike display the same qualities of imaginative realism, progressive conservatism, and courageous consistence.

George O'Brien

G. K. CHESTERTON AND MODERN ENGLAND

BY H. BELLOC

WHEN a powerful mind has, through talents attached to it, the instrument for expression, whether in speech or in writing, and when we propose to discover what the effect of that mind may be, we must consider not only its inherent strength, its degree of lucidity, of sincerity, and of perception, nor only the value of the instrument which the Creator has put at its disposal, but also and especially the medium wherein it has to work: the environment in which it finds itself: the audience to which alone it can be addressed.

Gilbert Chesterton had for his chief function the expression of that philosophy which, in its complete form, is the soul inhabiting the Catholic Church. He had also for his function what is inextricably combined with this, an expression of true history.

On these two almost obvious points we need not delay. They are evident in all that he did, from the beginning to the end. For whether the philosophy which informed him and which he made it his business to extend to others were overtly Catholic, as was the case at the end of his life, or, as it was with his earlier years, implicitly so, that character clearly both filled his effort and was the motive power thereof; while the perception of historic truth, which is necessary to such an attitude and completes it, was equally apparent in him. He had early discovered and thenceforward always knew that our civilisation was made by the Faith. He further had discovered and knew of what sort was the antique paganism from the nobility of which we are descended. He saw Europe for what it was and still is: the Roman Empire baptised. He appreciated both how small a proportion numerically of the English story is divorced from the English Pagan and Catholic past, and of what vital importance it was, not only to England but to the world, that the country had been forced

off the lines by the religious revolution which opened four hundred years ago. He continually discovered the surviving ghost of the old England within the new.

Now these things being so, what was the medium wherein such truths were to be expressed, in such manner as was native to him? The answer to that question is of peculiar difficulty, for this reason: that the society we call "modern England" is ill-known by its enemies, its rivals, and most of all perhaps by its alien admirers; and is also, from lack of opportunities for comparison, ill-known to itself. Yet until we have appreciated what this modern England is in its essence, we cannot understand with what opportunities and against what obstacles Gilbert Chesterton's effort was made.

The prime characteristic of modern England is without doubt this: that it is a highly homogeneous society, directed against and opposed to vital Catholic tradition. England has been called in its modern phase a block of granite. There has been suggested what would seem a better metaphor, the phrase "a block of vulcanised indiarubber": resilient, organic, not hardened as fossils are hardened, but so completely one that reaction from within, let alone opposition, is impossible to it.

That unity, be it remembered, is the direct product of the triumphant struggle against Catholicism and the whole inheritance of the past. It was undertaken more than three and a half centuries ago by the Cecils as a drastic policy detestable to their fellow-citizens, became gradually national, and at last completely triumphed before the year 1700. If any man would write the story of English unity in order to explain it, let him begin by seeing, at its root and giving it all its value, the anti-Catholic drive; that is, the appetite (which has become an instinct) for separation from what was once Christendom.

Therefore is it that the decay of doctrine has been of no effect upon the essentially Protestant character of England. Enthusiasm for some leading heretical dogma, such as the central doctrine of the Calvinists, may be intense, rise to a maximum, and wane till it has wholly disappeared. But the

repugnance felt for the Catholic air remains as strong as ever, and must inevitably so remain, until, if that be possible, by shock or by long space of time there should supervene a general conversion.

No phrase is truer of England than the fundamental phrase, "Patriotism is the religion of the English." The intense worship, not of the State but of the nation and of its characteristics, both real and imagined, is the inner burning flame whence the energy of England is nourished. We are not here concerned with the comic and tragic excesses of this violent emotion; we are concerned to recognise it as something the like of which is not to be found elsewhere in the world, because nowhere else in the world is there the same absolute political unity.

Neither can we here discuss whether unity developed to such a degree be not, as Aristotle affirmed, a poison ultimately mortal. What we have to do in relation to that great mind whose environment we here examine is to recognise the political truth, that diversity and opposition act with difficulty in modern England. The last embers of a critical spirit in English affairs grew cold nearly a lifetime ago.

This unity, and the anti-Catholic spirit which is both its inheritance and its formative power, has for one effect (and that effect is most powerful) both ignorance and contempt for what is not English, in proportion as it be not English. Thus there is among Englishmen a universal contempt for societies of Catholic culture, a greater respect for societies of Protestant culture. Internal order being eminently achieved by the English is their prime test for political value in any foreign state—and so on.

Gilbert Chesterton then, to begin with, possessed, being typically and intimately English, the full national quality without which no Englishman will be heard by his fellows. But Gilbert Chesterton, having discovered to be true something which his fellows both ignored and affirmed to be false, was thereby engaged in a task solvent of the unity which was a passion and an ideal for all around him.

For the picturesque, for the ancient, there would always

be a receptive attention; but for the positive affirmation as truths of what men preferred to play with as legends there would be nothing but repulsion. An affirmation of Catholic philosophy sounds to most Englishmen when they first hear it an insincere affectation: when they are convinced of the affirmer's sincerity it affects them as an irritant.

The concomitant and the instrument of English political unity is the aristocratic spirit, using that term to mean the spirit of a polity in which men recognise and desire the leadership of the wealthy.

Here again England is unique among modern nations. Indeed the aristocratic state is a rare phenomenon in history. The sense of human equality of which kingship is the fruit, or (under specially favouring circumstances) democracy, is far the commonest social philosophy among men. But in aristocratic states, where active kingship is by definition impossible, the sense of human equality hardly exists, and its more vigorous expression disturbs the aristocratic state with a sense of futile disorder. How long this characteristic of modern England will survive is a question of some interest. There are signs that it has already been thoroughly undermined, and there are not only signs but ample evidence that mere plutocracy, the subtle but mortal enemy of the aristocratic spirit, is gaining rapidly. But, at any rate, during the period into which Gilbert Chesterton was born and wherein he was formed, England was essentially what to-day she outwardly remains, an aristocratic state.

Now Gilbert Chesterton was in these matters again, as in the point of unity with which aristocracy is so closely connected, at once advantaged and disadvantaged. He was steeped in the traditions of his country, in the social traditions even more than in the political. He was not only familiar with, but had affection for, a whole group of social results which proceed from class government. The English village as it *is* moved him with affection, not as an ideal—he would have wished it other—but as a sufficient reality. Yet by all his philosophy aristocracy must be found wanting. One could say of him, of this utterly English Englishman, what could be

said of hardly any Englishmen, that he had the heart of a republican.

So here again you have that combination of opportunity and obstacle which would seem to be present throughout all he thought, said and did. An aristocratic society would listen, because it knew it was understood and in part loved; but some of the things to which it listened sounded confused in its ears, and many were incomprehensible.

There is a third leading characteristic of England through which it might at first appear as though Chesterton's work was merely impeded: a third characteristic besides aristocratic unity and anti-Catholicism, which (it would seem) must so work as to be an unqualified obstacle to the reception of what he had to say. That third characteristic is the commercial spirit; for England is essentially not only an aristocratic, united, anti-Catholic society, but also a commercial society. In that atmosphere the peasant has disappeared. In that atmosphere economic status has disappeared, destroyed by mere competition. In that society wealth, collective and individual, has become the test of excellence.

Now against that political frame of mind Gilbert Chesterton was manifestly at war during the whole of his life. He did not accept it in any fashion. He regarded it as an enemy. He engaged himself from the beginning in the ranks of those who would destroy it. As his field of discovery widened, as he moved from the implicit to the explicit possession of the Catholic philosophy, his method of attack against Mammon, and more particularly against Mammon as the destroyer of stability, moved from the very young simplicity of Socialism to the high organic recognition of property. In the last years of his life the restoration of property, which is both the restoration of freedom and of the family, became his high political concern. This, as it was the final, was also the deliberate and constructive social action which crowned his career on this earth. It is notable that of all he did, this was in its beginnings the least noticed, and is still the least noticed: so fantastic has the conception of economic freedom become, and so forgotten the whole atmosphere of it. Here there was

little to make his voice heard or his word understood, everything to make the voice ineffective and the word it spoke meaningless.

What the near future, still more what the next phase of English society, an active lifetime hence, may have to show as a memorial to Gilbert Chesterton's unceasing effort in this field, our generation cannot tell. It may be that which seems to-day impossible: property may enjoy a resurrection, even in England. But when we ask the question, "What was the environment of Gilbert Chesterton's work during his own time, here and now?" the answer must plainly be that it was an environment wholly hostile to the rebuilding of the free family, and that, in this year of his death, there is no sign of progress towards the goal which he so clearly pointed out and towards which he so consistently strove.

Watching this—temporally speaking the most important of the tasks he set himself—the modern observer is inevitably filled with a sense of futility—especially if he be young. The mass is not moving towards Freedom, and there seems to be no possibility that it should so move. It is as though a man were with his bare hands to thrust against the Pyramids. Men who have had a long experience of life will not be so certain. They will give very heavy odds against the restoration of economic freedom in the country whence Gilbert Chesterton sprang and which he so dearly loved. The task does indeed seem so colossal as to be impracticable. But the one lesson a long life does teach is that the tangent to the curve is never a guide to its future course. Things utterly unexpected arise—changes of public mood which have the very quality of miracle in the physical world. No success is impossible; no counsel of despair therefore is necessarily valid. But certainly that one of Chesterton's ideals, that subject of his predication, seems the least capable of achievement in modern England.

For the vast organism of society in that country has settled firmly into a form of industrial capitalism supported, confirmed and made permanent by servile legislation; which legislation has certainly been accepted by the mass of men, and is of a sort they would desire to increase. The whole thing may be compared to the pouring of molten metal into

the sand mould prepared for it. The metal cools and hardens rapidly; the period in which its stream might have been deflected was very brief; it seems now to be certainly over. The casting has taken shape for good.

There are subsidiary aspects of modern England wherein the activity of Gilbert Chesterton may be specially judged, The first of these is the particular character of English humour, which is itself a by-product of the vivid, exaggerated, and therefore most powerful English visual imagination. For some reason this prime quality in the English, which has developed through their very isolation from external experience, their dependence on print, their herding in great towns, is oddly ignored, by themselves and by their rivals. Yet to any observer who is concerned with reality and impatient of myth, the thing should be obvious. The very strength of self-deception with which the enemies of England most reproach her, and to which it is often just to give an uglier name, is dependent on this faculty of visual imagination. It is often an accompaniment (alas !) of the isolated mind. It is also a consolation. It is a peril, as it is a gift. But whatever it is, of its special presence in modern England there can be no doubt at all.

Now here Gilbert Chesterton's work was heavily advantaged. Here he was in the very centre of the national spirit. Here he was understood and accepted, as in no other thing. That same character which renders the modern Englishman so easily fatigued by close thought and so willing to abandon it at the least opportunity, permits him to conjure up, with dream-strength, vision upon vision. Thereby this great man was, to the very full, a fellow of those about him. That gift of parallelism, of illustration by simile, in which he was supreme, stamped itself upon the reader through that quality of living fancy whereon the Englishman is fed. It is to be remarked (and few have remarked it) that this very faculty made him unappreciated in translation, or at least appreciated for matter rather than for manner. That also goes with his being so wholly national.

Let it be noted in this same connection that when we

talk of Gilbert Chesterton's audience and environment, we have to enlarge the term to include very much more than this special England to which he belonged, and to which alone for more than the first half of his active life he addressed himself. For there are two other elements in that vast audience which heard him, and in the minority which in different degrees understood what he would say. There are two other elements in no way English, but affected by anyone who uses the English tongue for predication. The first of these elements is what may briefly be called " the New World " ; the other is the dispersed but rooted Irish nation.

By " the New World " we mean the traditionally non-Catholic body of the United States, of the English-speaking Canadians, and that which is English-speaking at the Cape, with wholly English-speaking Australasia. By the Irish nation, closely intermixed with this New World, but possessed also of a permanent European habitation, we mean something sufficiently apparent and real to excuse any special definition. It is, after its fashion, a polity of its own. Nor, in spite of dispersion, does it show signs of dissolution.

Now to both these elements Gilbert Chesterton appealed in quite different ways. His approach to the Irish was, of course, through his perception and, in the end, his full acceptance of Catholic truth : that is, of the supreme reality. He saw. They see. Men who see are of one sort, apart, in the company of the blind—or of the half-blind. He heard. They hear. Those who hear are of one sort, apart, in the company of the deaf—or of those to whom music has no meaning.

But apart from this over-reaching bridge between him and the Irish people, there was also a certain natural sympathy to which I think most Irishmen will testify, and which was special to himself. It was not affection to the Irish blood, nor admiration for the Irish story, which was the chief element in this link. The Englishman merely affectionate towards Ireland commonly offends the Irish temper. In the case of Chesterton, there was an exception, very marked. I would point to a passage wherein he speaks of St. Patrick's Bell, the distant

tinkle of it over the enormous crowd, at the Elevation in the Mass of the Dublin Eucharistic Congress. Let anyone read that passage carefully and he will see that it might have been written by an Irishman. It is rare indeed to be able to say that about any profound piece of English prose.

There is, however, this to be remarked in the matter of Chesterton's relations with the Irish: that for them what he had to say was largely already known, and what he desired to establish for his own people had been by the Irish largely re-established, through their own efforts and for themselves. Chesterton desired in modern England a peasantry, as a man might desire water in a desert. The Irish have maintained a peasantry under mortal strain and have triumphantly re-erected the only peasantry existent in these islands.

Of Chesterton in connection with what we have called "the New World" it is very difficult to speak, because the distinctions which have to be made are at once so vital and so subtle. No Englishman can so write or so think or so *be*, as to fall in tune with the New World. The very similarity of language is a barrier, because the same words are perpetually being used for very dissimilar things. One may put it most briefly but most truly by saying that the one bond here was the bond of admiration. The greatness of a writer, that is, of creative thought expressed in words, may be tested by the power of transcending the native atmosphere of those words. The modern man is moved by the choruses of Sophocles, though no one knows how they were pronounced. The New World is moved in some fashion difficult for us to understand by most of what is greatly presented to them in the English language. But how this relation is established the recipient cannot tell you—anyhow, the relation of Chesterton's work with the New World belongs rather to a consideration of his ultimate effect than to one of his immediate environment, of the medium within which his work was done.

There are two last things to be said upon this curious and high problem, the relation between an Englishman of this calibre and the England to whom he was granted. These two things are first the restriction, and the increasing restriction,

of the field to which reason directly appeals; second, the misapprehension of proportion among the audience which Gilbert Chesterton had in his own country.

As to the first of these, it is one of the most important of the social phenomena apparent in Europe to-day, and it is perhaps—after the decline of religion, with which it is closely connected—the most important of all phenomena in England itself.

Gilbert Chesterton could not work save through an appeal to the reason. Even when he was using metaphor and simile most actively, even when his marvellous gift of parallelism was running in spate, all that he wrote was argument. The whole process tended to a conclusion through the use of the intelligence. It is sometimes said that those able to follow a process of reasoning are always few. It may be so; though the word "few" is doubtful, as is even the word "minority" in such a matter. But it is certain that the numbers of those who are willing to follow a rational process have diminished vastly, and very rapidly, among us during the present lifetime. It is a decline you may discover in every class of society, so that the usual explanations for it—the influence of the elementary school, of the degraded popular press, and so on—are not sufficient. It may be fatigue; it may have some undiscoverable cause. But the result is very plainly there. The sort of man who appeals to reason, as did Calvin, St. Thomas, John Stuart Mill, and any other specimen you like, to-day wastes his time in England, unless he has some other quality wherewith to float his stuff.

The second and last point is equally true: the loss of proportion. In the matter of Chesterton's writing and its reception by his fellow-citizens, that loss is tragically apparent. What was striking in his manner was regarded as the prime affair. What was profoundly true and profoundly useful was the more neglected. And when he said a thing (as he said so many hundred) which was at once a truth, a revelation, and an incised, permanent, lapidary, economised statement, as strong as physical evidence, it was called paradox.

H. Belloc

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

BY RIGHT REV. MGR. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D., LITT.D.
Catholic University of America

IN the June 1934 issue of STUDIES, I described briefly the principal laws that had been enacted up to that time under the Administration of President Roosevelt. Since then three important additions have been made to the group of legislative measures comprising the New Deal. These are: the Banking Act of 1935, which gives the Federal government control over the Federal Reserve System; the Guffey Act, which sought to set up a "little NRA" in the bituminous coal industry; and the Wagner-Connery Labor Relations Act, which aims at giving labour effective power to organize and which outlaws employer-dominated unions.

Unfortunately the last two years have dealt harshly with the New Deal. The two most fundamental enactments have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. These are the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which were intended, respectively, for the benefit of urban industry and of farming. More recently the Guffey Act has suffered the same evil fortune. It is practically certain that, within the next six or eight months, the Labor Relations Act and parts of the Social Security and the Holding Company Acts will likewise be pronounced contrary to the Constitution. When the process of judicial nullification has been completed, there will be very little left of the New Deal.

These unfavourable judicial decisions—past and probable—have greatly intensified the importance and the critical character of the political campaign which will come to an end the night before the election. Had the National Recovery Administration not been destroyed, the minimum wage rates prevailing under it would by this time have been increased and the forty-hour week would have been reduced in some

industries to 36 hours. These developments would have caused the number of the unemployed to be at least two million less than it is to-day. Since the NRA was judicially abolished, there has been an increase in the length of the working day and a decrease in wages in a majority of the industries that were under that beneficent agency. The farmers have suffered through the judicial demolition of the Agriculture Adjustment Administration.

In his book *The Twilight of the Supreme Court* (1934) Professor Edward S. Corwin, who is one of the very highest authorities on the Constitution, declared that the Supreme Court had a sufficient variety of precedents in its own past decisions either to uphold or to overturn all the legislative acts of the New Deal. Had it followed the favourable precedents in the cases that it has already decided, the laws upon which it has still to pass would now be safe from judicial annulment. In that event, the great majority of the farmers and practically all the wage earners would be certain to seek the reelection of President Roosevelt. Now, however, a considerable proportion of the farmers are dissatisfied, while a smaller proportion of the wage-earners have become sceptical concerning the power of any government, Democratic or Republican, to give them substantial justice. While it is unjust and illogical to blame the Administration for the failure of laws which were invalidated by the Supreme Court, nevertheless these groups will vote against Roosevelt in November.

Will the President be reelected ? Six months ago every competent American observer would have answered unhesitatingly in the affirmative. While all the signs still support that answer, they are considerably less positive and less compelling than they were last March. In the following pages I shall attempt to analyse the main political and economic forces which are involved in the current presidential campaign and which make it the most important and fateful electoral contest held in the United States since the Civil War.

In the agricultural section of the struggle, we find both the Republican and the Democratic platforms promising a

continuation of governmental benefit payments to those farmers whose products do not bring prices comparable in purchasing power with the average prices which prevailed in the period 1909-1914. In deciding between the Republican and the Democratic formulations of this general proposal, the individual farmer will be moved by his traditional party affiliation, by his estimate of the sincerity of the respective party leaders, and by his view of their relative efficiency in legislation and administration. In the first of these respects the advantage lies with the Republicans; in the second and third respects, with the Democrats. Aside from its benefit-payment feature, the Republican plank on agriculture is long, confusing and not free from internal contradictions. The probability is that a majority of the farmers will vote for Roosevelt, but a considerably smaller majority than in 1932.

The wage-earners are principally interested in three planks of the party platforms: namely, those dealing with the right to organize, with labour standards and with the abolition of unemployment. In all these respects the Democratic declarations and proposals are vastly superior. The paragraph in the Republican platform asserting the right of labour to organize and bargain collectively includes a devious phrase against which the representatives of labour fought vigorously and successfully when employer representatives tried to get it into the Wagner-Connery Labor Relations Act. The phrase is, "without interference from any source," and it is recognized by experienced labour leaders as designed to enable employers to herd their employees into counterfeit "company unions." The corresponding phrase in the Democratic platform is, "without interference by employers." This was included in the Wagner-Connery Act at the request and upon the insistence of the representatives of labour. It will remain "the law of the land" until the Act is declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

On the legal regulation of labour standards the Democratic platform is much better than the Republican. The latter proposes that laws be passed by the several states to provide minimum wages and maximum hours for women workers and

child workers, and expresses the belief that such legislation would be valid " within the Constitution as it now stands." This looks like a piece of deliberate insincerity, since it was adopted subsequent to the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court holding unconstitutional the minimum wage law enacted by the State of New York. A minimum wage law which succeeded in getting around that decision would have to be innocuous and worthless.

The corresponding plank in the Democratic platform demands minimum wages and maximum hours for all workers regardless of sex or age, declares that the necessary legislation can be enacted only by the Congress of the United States, and favours an amendment to the Constitution, if necessary, to make such laws valid. On all three of these points the Democratic declaration and proposals are clearly superior to the Republican. Men as well as women need these protective laws; the laws cannot, practically speaking, be enacted simultaneously and in uniform terms by forty-eight separate states; nor can they be validly passed by Congress without an amendment to the Constitution. The last proposition has been demonstrated by the Court in the NIRA and the Guffey cases.

Owing mainly to the superior sincerity and realism of the Democratic platform on the right of labour to organize and to bargain collectively and on effective legislation for minimum wages and maximum hours, the labour vote will probably be almost unanimous for Roosevelt.

This probability is considerably strengthened by the differences between the two platforms in relation to the abolition of unemployment. The Republican platform advocates the adoption of such policies " as will furnish a chance for individual enterprise, industrial expansion and the restoration of jobs." While it favours public works " on their merits," the Republican platform does not put them forth as a means of reducing unemployment. Apparently the Republican reliance is entirely upon " individual enterprise " and " industrial expansion." The Democratic platform declares that when business fails to provide " maximum employment at

adequate wages," work should be provided at the prevailing wages " on useful public projects." It does not, however, specify just how private industry is to be enabled or induced or compelled to produce this result. Undoubtedly this part of the platform is to be considered in connection with the well-known determination of the President to revive and reestablish the NRA, with its minimum wages and maximum hours. Thus unemployment would be reduced directly through the shorter hour work-day and indirectly through the increased demand for goods following upon the increased purchasing power of the wage-earners.

Thus supplemented, the Democratic declaration on unemployment is immeasurably superior to the proposals of the Republican platform. The Democratic proposals are of vital importance not only to labour but to the vast majority of the American people. They are based upon a fundamental economic theory which is of greater consequence than all the other features of both platforms. This is what has come to be known among economists as the " theory of under-consumption," or the " purchasing power theory." For more than one hundred years this theory was ignored by the professional economists: they assumed that all possible products would find buyers, regardless of the distribution of purchasing power among the various income groups. For well-nigh fifty years, the voice of the eminent English economist John A. Hobson expressed the only influential dissent from this absurd theory that goods could be sold without buyers. Since 1929, however, a considerable number of professional economists, particularly in the United States, have abandoned the theory, as they have come to realize that more products will not be taken off the market unless those who would like to buy more have the money to buy more. In his latest book, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, John Maynard Keynes presents a devastating description of the historical obtuseness of the majority of economists on this subject. He himself now accepts the " under-consumption theory " in all its substantial features.

The Republican platform and the dominant elements of

the Party reject "the under-consumption theory." They still hold that unemployment can be abolished and full operation of industry automatically attained through a policy of *laissez faire*. They still believe in unrestricted "individual enterprise" and unlimited "industrial expansion." They ignore the fact that these policies brought about such an over-expansion of saving and capital that in our year of greatest prosperity, 1929, the American industrial plant was operated at only 80 per cent. of capacity and more than two-and-one-half million workers were out of employment. The Republicans seem to be unaware that if the ten billion dollars of savings which in that year were wasted in various forms of speculation, because they could find no profitable place in an already over-expanded capital structure, had gone to labour and the farmers, our industries could have been kept going at full capacity and the depression need not have occurred.

Since the last paragraph was written the meagre and vague declaration in the Republican platform has been somewhat amplified and clarified by Governor Landon in his speech (July 23) accepting his party's nomination for the office of President of the United States. The Republican nominee asserted: "We are far behind in expenditures for upkeep and for expansion. The total of this demand—in industry, in new enterprises, in our homes and on our farms—amounts to billions of dollars. Once all this consumer-demand is released, the problem will be not where to find work for the workers but where to find workers for work." In the opinion of Governor Landon, this enormous latent demand has not yet become active simply because men who would like to launch "new business ventures" have no confidence in the present Administration; they are "afraid of what may come next." Hence, "the time has come to unshackle initiative and free the spirit of American enterprise."

This is all pretty naive. It ignores the determining facts of our industrial history since the last decade of the nineteenth century. Governor Landon's astonishing reference to "the working man who would like to become his own boss" shows that his economic knowledge and thinking are contemporary

with the America that came to an end about 1890. In essence his observations on employment and business enterprise could have been written by Jean Baptiste Say or David Ricardo, more than a century ago. Let us analyse his proposals.

The demand for more products " in our homes and on our farms " was even greater than it is now during the Hoover depression, when the governmental policies were all favourable to " initiative " and " the spirit of American enterprise." That demand did not become effective for the obvious reason that it was not supported by the necessary purchasing power. How will men now get this purchasing power under Landon's programme ? Through " expenditures for upkeep and improvement and for expansion." As soon as confidence is restored to business men, these expenditures will be forthcoming. This will mean a vast increase of employment and therefore of purchasing power in the hands of labourers and farmers. The thing is as simple as that !

Unfortunately for him Landon's theory and proposal are in a head-on collision with the facts. The proposed expenditures for " upkeep, improvement and expansion " are unwarranted and would be unprofitable. In all our important industries " upkeep and improvement " have been and are being adequately provided for out of current business revenues. The substitution on a large scale of later models for machinery that has allegedly become " obsolescent " would impose upon most industrial concerns an insupportable burden of debt. In the absence of a radical redistribution of purchasing power " expansion " in any considerable volume is likewise unwarranted by any effective demand that now exists or that is likely to exist for the next ten years.

Recall that our industrial plant was twenty per cent. idle in the " boom " year of 1929. A much greater per cent. is unused to-day. This fact and others of equal importance have been demonstrated by the four Brookings Institution volumes on the general subject of " income and economic progress." If the Republican nominee has read these volumes, he has evidently not been impressed by them. He still has faith in abstract and antiquated economic theories.

In passing, it should be noticed that these volumes of the Brookings Institution constitute the most enlightening economic work that has ever appeared in America. Indeed, they are regarded by many economists as the most important contribution to economic science since the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Their superiority lies mainly in their preoccupation with economic facts rather than economic theory. Insofar as their presentation of facts supports any theory, it is the "theory of under-consumption."

The Roosevelt administration has consistently adhered to the "under-consumption theory." Its principal legislative acts have been based upon the assumption that unemployment cannot be ended until the share of the national income going to labour is increased and the share of capital decreased. This involves not only an expansion of wages but a reduction of interest and profits. Thus would the demand for the products of industry be increased and the capacity for excessive saving and investment lessened. Increased purchasing power was to be put into the hands of labour through the National Industrial Recovery Act, with its minimum wage and maximum hour provisions, and into the hands of the farmers through the price-raising influence of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Profits were to be decreased through higher wages and interest was to be reduced through the operations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other administrative agencies. It was expected that, with a gradually increasing power to purchase and consume, labour would take all that the farmers could produce, with the exception of wheat and possibly cotton. Hence most of the crop-restriction features of the AAA were designed to be of short duration.

Whatever may be said against these proposals, it cannot be denied that the underlying economic theory is plausible and self-consistent. The opposite policy—*laissez faire* and unlimited "freedom of enterprise"—is incapable of providing either social justice or full and continuous operation of industry.

Precisely because the Roosevelt Administration has adopted the "under-consumption theory" and its implications, precisely because it will strive through new measures (including

if necessary a constitutional amendment) to effectuate this theory, it is bitterly opposed by "big business" and by dominated and overawed "little business."

It is true that many of our citizens who are not directly interested in either big or little business are disturbed by some of the regulative acts of the Roosevelt Administration. The majority of these persons are victims of specious propaganda. As I write, I have before me a typical instance. In the *San Francisco Chronicle* of July 21, the leading editorial declares that there is only one real issue in the current political contest: namely, "whether we shall retain or surrender the American systems of government, of business and of life." This sounds impressive. It is calculated to disturb, even to frighten, those readers who do not look behind the words, or who are unaware that this newspaper is one of the most devoted defenders of American plutocracy. When these organs declare that the Roosevelt policies are destroying "economic liberty" and "individual initiative" and "regimenting" industrial life, what they really mean is that these policies restrain the "liberty" and "initiative" of the economically strong to oppress the economically weak, that they are curbing somewhat the economic domination and the economic liberalism denounced by Pope Pius XI, and that they are introducing a moderate measure of regulation on behalf of social justice.

The sum of the matter is that probably nine-tenths of the most intense and most powerful opposition to the Roosevelt policies is directly or indirectly due to resentment on account of the limitations which these policies have placed upon opportunities for pecuniary gain and economic domination, and the fear that these restrictions will be continued in the event of Roosevelt's re-election explains the changed attitude and the apparent ingratitude of business men towards the President. When he was inaugurated, the captains of industry addressed to him an almost unanimous Macedonian cry: "Come over and help us. Adopt whatever regulations you think necessary to check the depression and to revive business." Now that the general level of American business activity is higher than it has been since 1930, is only a few per cent. below the level

of 1929, these same business men have regained confidence in themselves and in the " American system." They want no legislation that will raise wages, lessen hours, reduce interest or interfere with the flotation of questionable industrial stocks.

The most damaging indictments brought by business opposition to Roosevelt have their source in greed and stupidity : greed, because the great industrialists do not want to suffer any diminution of their gains or to permit a fairer distribution of the national income ; stupidity, because they fail to see that indefinite investment and production without adequate attention to the distribution of purchasing power brought on the great depression of 1929-1933 and will inevitably repeat the diasaster. It is possible to counteract greed ; but, in the words of the poet Schiller, " against stupidity the very gods themselves contend in vain."

Nevertheless, the charges of greed and stupidity require some qualification. Up to the inauguration of President Roosevelt America had been the classic land of *laissez faire* and of almost universal faith in the beneficent and automatic operation of a regime of practically unbridled individualism. These doctrines were taught by the economists and, if one did not look beneath the surface, seemed to be vindicated by our achievements. Nor should it be forgotten that we have a goodly number of able industrialists—such as Filene and Dennison of Massachusetts, Leeds of Pennsylvania, Swope of New York—who are keenly aware that, if industry is to function regularly and safely, its product must be more equitably distributed. Unfortunately these men are exceptions.

As indicating the central issue of the campaign, neither of the party platforms is so significant as the speech, accepting renomination, delivered by President Roosevelt in Philadelphia on June 27, 1936. More than once during the years 1934 and 1935, Mr. Roosevelt seemed to be " turning towards the right." For more than a year now he has exhibited no such tendency or intention. He seems to have given up all hope that " big business " would abandon its stupidity and accept a sane and moderate programme of regulation. He seems to realize that " big business " has learned nothing from the depression,

that it prefers domination to cooperation. In his speech of acceptance, he declared that the place of the "political royalists" of 1776 has been taken by the "economic royalists" of 1936. He promised to continue the fight against them and their "economic tyranny," until both are overthrown and genuine economic opportunity restored to all the people. Here in America, he said, "we are waging a great war . . . not alone a war against want and destitution and economic demoralization, . . . but a war for the survival of democracy."

The acceptance speech provides full assurance that if Roosevelt is reelected, he will continue to fight for a better distribution of wealth and for wider social justice, along the same lines and on the basis of the same social and economic philosophy that have characterized the New Deal. This is a great gain for definiteness and honesty. The average citizen can clearly comprehend the main issue of the campaign.

A word on the false issues. Mr. Roosevelt is neither a Communist, nor a Socialist, nor a dictator, nor a usurper of the powers of Congress, nor a reckless spender of public money, nor an enemy of the Constitution, nor a subservient follower of any so-called "brain trust." He would preserve the capitalist system, but he desires it to be considerably reformed. Whatever authority he possesses he has derived from the American people and exercised with the consent of Congress. He believes that the Constitution should be amended to provide for national regulation of our national industries, and he is not averse to consulting men of competence in the various matters of legislation and policy with which he has to deal.

It is a magnificent contest in which Mr. Roosevelt is engaged. Americans who use their intelligence, who scorn hypocrisy, who love sincerity and who hate economic injustice, find the contest heartening and thrilling. They realize that for the first time since the Civil War they have a President who is contending for social justice through a realistic programme and with a comprehensive perception of "what it is all about." They know that their champion sees through all the "shams and shows" of the opposition. If he is defeated, that result will be mainly due to unlimited expenditure of money.

JOHN A. RYAN

THE SOURCE AND PURPOSE OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY *

BY REV. MICHAEL BROWNE, D.D., D.C.L.
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

THE subject of discussion at this gathering has been wisely chosen. It is one that at the present day arouses keen interest and concern ; one on which many false and subversive views are current ; one of great practical importance. The outstanding phenomenon of this century is the steady invasion of the State into the life and business of the individual. Social and economic relations have become so complex and interlocked that the welfare and happiness of a steadily increasing number are dependent on the State. Hence in every country the organisation, the reform or improvement of the State is a matter of interest, controversy and experiment.

The theme which has been assigned to me is " The Source, Purpose and Transfer of Supreme Political Authority." On these three questions I have been asked, and it is my intention to state the official teaching of the Catholic Church. You have not gathered to hear the views of any party or philosopher or theologian : you have come together simply as Catholics to learn, and by discussion to penetrate more deeply into the meaning of, the teaching which the Catholic Church stands over. For you she is the Church of Christ, carrying His message, guided by His Spirit unto all truth. There is nothing like her upon the earth, because she has received the words of eternal life : among these words is the moral law, the rule of conduct, by living which a man is fully a man, here and hereafter. The teaching of the Church on political authority is not speculative or political : it is moral. It is concerned with the social duties which man's moral life and spiritual salvation exact. Hence it is that the Church is competent to give a teaching, for she has received authority to teach the law of Christ, a moral law.

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Her teaching is not new: precisely because the Church is not new. She has lived through all forms of government—empires, city-states, democracies—and she has had to contend with all forms of tyranny. Illusions and deceptions could not have survived that experience.

I shall endeavour to state Catholic teaching as clearly as possible, to define its limits, and to mark it off from the opinions or speculations which are held by particular Catholic scholars or groups. I shall deal first with the nature of civil authority, next with its origin, then with its purpose, and finally with its transfer.

Necessity and Nature of Authority

It seems clear beyond contradiction that there cannot be any association of human beings, living and working together in union, unless there be among them an authority or leader. Yet there have been and are men who assert that government of any kind is unnecessary and that men would manage all right and maintain peace if left to themselves. They are called Anarchists. They are not necessarily people who dislike peace and want disorder; but they think we can have order and peace without government if we were left alone to our better selves or if we really were a little better. But even if we were angels, we should still need a unifying centre in order to live and work together; for many minds naturally tend to plurality of plans rather than to unity. No group of individuals, however perfect and willing, can secure unity without a leader to make decisions. Thus people may keep to the right or the left side of the road: one is as good as another; but there would be disorder unless there was somebody to decide which. Similarly a group of musicians, however talented and enthusiastic, cannot make an orchestra without a conductor.

Men unfortunately are far from being angels: at times they will not merely play out of tune, but will smash up the instruments. Hence there is required for social life—and experience proves it only too well—power to command, power to enforce or execute commands, and power to punish offenders. Political authority includes these three powers—legislative,

executive and penal. It means power over the actions, property, persons and even lives of human beings. It has its limits, but even within them, it is an extensive and terrible power.

Origin of Political Authority

The next question is the origin of political authority. It is a practical question, for men's attitude to authority is determined by their ideas as to its origin. And first let me mention briefly the two chief non-Catholic views.

A. At the present day those who believe in a purely materialistic Evolutionism regard authority simply as physical power, might without right: they explain its origin as the superior skill or strength of some in a brutish struggle for supremacy. This is the view adopted by Socialists and Communists. According to them authority is simply naked force, devoid of moral right; it is the power of the strongest and most ruthless class or group. This view is also often found among cynical Christians, who regard political life as a scramble for power and consider each government as merely the successful grabber of the machinery of power—the army, police, civil service and treasury.

This view would be quite true, *if* there were no moral law, no such thing as conscience or sense of duty; if men were simply beasts governed by impulse or force. But the fact is that men have conscience and a sense of duty; they recognise a higher law than force; they discriminate between might and right. To lawless tyranny they will not yield, but to rightful authority they give free and willing obedience. History has proved time and again that brute force cannot maintain a State.

B. Whence can a moral right to authority come? The second theory answers: "From man himself." Since the English Revolution of 1688, John Locke and after him Rousseau popularised the notion that political authority comes from the people or body of individual citizens. They asserted that primitive men entered into social relations of their free will and by free contract gave power to the ruler, which they could recall at will. The ruler therefore is only a kind of referee

whom the people select when they decide to play the game of social life, and they may at any moment stop the game and sack the referee. This doctrine had tremendous popularity: it shook thrones, brought revolutions and set up popular governments.

The doctrine is not sound—and for many reasons. It is historically and psychologically untrue that men enter social life freely and by social contract: such an idea ignores the nature of man and his strongest instincts. Secondly, individuals cannot give the right to take the property and lives *of others*. Thirdly, it does not define who are the people, but gives the majority an absolute power which cannot be derived from the consent of the minority. It cannot explain how in every state every new generation of children are held to be citizens without their consent. Finally, it would destroy all reverence for authority and stability in social life.

Both these theories fail to explain the facts of human nature and the necessities of social life.

C. The Catholic Church teaches that civil authority is from God. This doctrine is clearly set forth in the New Testament as a fundamental point of Christian morality. Hence whoever believes in the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of Sacred Scripture must accept it. But it is also proved by reason, by the facts of man's nature. The fact is that men are not free in regard to social life: they are miserable, unhappy and defective without it. Their nature demands it. Only in association can they attain that peace, order, security and development of their material and cultural environment which will satisfy their deepest aspirations. Now social life, as we have seen, is impossible without authority. Therefore He who created man's nature willed that authority to be and sanctioned it. God gave the authority when He gave man his nature as a social being. And only God could give this moral right, for no man has of himself the right to dispose of another man's life or property.

Civil authority comes from God *through the natural law*. The natural law is that primordial law made by God for all men of all times and all lands—for Jew and Gentile, for Christian

and pagan. It is manifested to them in the nature given them : it is written in their hearts.

Briefly, then, the argument is this. God has given man a nature which demands social life : thereby He has authorized and commanded the authority which is necessary for social life.

It follows that men owe to civil authority reverence and obedience. They owe it reverence, for it comes to them from above, made by a greater than they. Reverence is an attitude of mind repugnant to a flippant and shallow generation. It is not servility, but the recognition of truth and of one's own dimensions in relation to the universe. Reverence in a man is proportioned to his capacity to understand his nature and his place in the universe. The importance of reverence is very great, for without it there is no free obedience : men do not willingly obey a power they do not respect as legitimately superior.

I must here call attention to an important point. Catholic doctrine says that authority is from God : it does not say or imply that the State or community is from God. The political authority of government which is necessary for social life is the same in all States : the same in nature, extent and limits. It has not a higher sanction in one State more than another.

The State, the particular community based on race or territory, is not from God. He has not established *it*. Particular States have a purely human origin : their grouping is due to purely historical circumstances. A State may be powerful, ancient or cultured, but it cannot claim a special divine origin. Not the nation or state is from God, but the authority which governs it. The grouping may change, but authority remains the same.

The Catholic Church repudiates any worship or apotheosis of the State, such as is practised in Germany and Japan. It repudiates the doctrine of Hegel that a particular nation or state has a special divine origin or value.

THE PURPOSE OF AUTHORITY

The Catholic Church maintains that the function of authority is fundamentally *moral ;* it is to promote justice,

order and the welfare of citizens. St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (Chap. XIII) makes this quite clear: authority is the minister of God for good, not for evil; it is an avenger against those who do evil. Again, authority is for the good of citizens, not for the good of the ruler. This is clear from the natural law; for authority is established as a means to social life, and social life itself is simply a means required for the life and development of men, the common mass of men.

It is a false notion that the purpose of authority is to exalt the glory, power or dominion of a nation or race. Pagan peoples had and have a very low sense of the personal value of the individual. Christianity gives the person his true stature. It repudiates vehemently the doctrine that the individual exists for the good of the State and has only the rights which the State gives him—that doctrine which in Communism, Socialism and Nazi-ism destroys liberty. The Church insists that the State is for the good of citizens, that it is not above all law but subject to natural law. The individual is prior to the State: the State has a temporal value, the individual has an eternal value.

These are the two fundamental points of Catholic teaching: authority is from God; it is for the good of the citizens. These principles must be taken together; to leave one out is to misrepresent Catholic teaching.

The Transfer of Authority

The final question is: To whom does God transfer authority? This is a very difficult question, and it is one on which the Gospel does not contain any explicit teaching. Christ did not give any definition of legitimate authority, and neither does the Church. Christ did not determine points of detail. He said: "Thou shalt not kill," but he did not define what is a man or say whether an embryo is a man. He left these details to our reason and common sense.

But while the Church does not define what authority is legitimate, she does give us some negative help, and for the rest she leaves the field open to theologians but takes care of the practical moral conclusions.

In the first place: God has not made any law conferring on any man or group of men the right to rule so that only they could have legitimate authority. The Church does not teach the divine right of kings or of anybody to rule. Neither does she teach the divine right of the people.

Secondly, all Catholics agree that a government which has acquired the consent of the people is legitimate and that the people are not free to withdraw consent at will.

Thirdly, all Catholics agree that a usurper who dislodges an existing government by force has not, as such, any right; but if he maintains order, citizens are bound to obey him, for their first duty is to avoid anarchy.

Fourthly, where a revolution has, justly or unjustly, taken place, if only one government is possible that is legitimate; if two or more governments are possible, that which has the consent of the people is legitimate.

Catholic scholars recognise several titles by which authority is legitimate: (1) consent of the people; (2) victory in a just war; (3) long, peaceful and effective possession; (4) the circumstance that no other government is possible.

It must not be thought that God intervenes to confer civil authority by any act of investiture. As in the case of other moral rights derived from the natural law, such as those of a father or owner of property, the right comes into existence when certain conditions are present.

Catholic scholars recognize that the people have the right to determine the form of government, but subject to certain limitations :—(1) They have no right to rebel or use force against a legitimate government which is functioning justly. (2) Where only one government is possible, so that the only alternative is anarchy, the people may not refuse their consent. So too in an ordered state new generations of children become subjects without their consent. (3) No consent of the people can legitimize an unjust tyrannical government.

CONCLUSION

I may conclude this paper by stating the Catholic moral teaching as it is summarised by theologians. A legitimate

government is entitled to loyalty and reverence; it is entitled to obedience to its just commands. Loyalty means that citizens recognise the authority as lawful and that they abstain from any attempt to overthrow the government by violence or conspiracy. If a constitution makes provision for change in the personnel or system of government by means of general election or plebiscite, loyalty does not forbid the use of peaceful agitation in press or on platform.

Nowadays most constitutions are democratic to the extent that they give the adults of one or both sexes power to change the personnel or system of government at periodical general elections or by extraordinary plebiscite. This involves the disadvantage that government is exposed to constant agitation and strife, which endanger reverence and loyalty—especially where citizens are not educated to criticise without hatred or contempt. But where the people have a real freedom of election, this system has the advantage that it makes a change of government possible without revolution. In these days of rapid change in economic and social conditions, that is a considerable advantage—sufficient to reconcile many to democracy with all its faults.

But when a constitution does give the people power, through general elections, to change the legislature or executive, we must guard against the mistake of supposing that authority in some way resides permanently with the people and that they govern by revocable mandate. That is not in accordance with the teaching of the Church as expounded by Leo XIII and Pius X. They repudiate the theory (derived from Rousseau) that the people retain authority and that the ruler is only the mouthpiece or agent of the people. The teaching of the Popes is that the people designate or select the *person* of the ruler, that the person designated has authority from God, and that he is entitled to reverence and obedience. He is not a mere mandatory or mouthpiece; he has authority and responsibility to rule in accordance with law and conscience.

Nowadays the notion of popular government by mandate has become meaningless, for a whole electorate cannot determine in advance all the details of policy for several years

during which unforeseen events may arise and change conditions vitally. An electorate cannot decide intricate details of monetary and economic organization. An electorate cannot legislate or govern in advance; but it can designate a legislator. It can judge a man—judge his character, honesty and zeal for social justice. It can select men who are fit to bear the responsibilities of authority. If it selects such men, their honesty and integrity are a better safeguard than a supposed mandate or paper of instructions, which in a corrupt democracy can be easily evaded.

The great need in democratic countries is that people should realize the truth of the teaching of the Popes: that their function is not to rule by mandate but to designate good rulers, who have thereupon authority from God and the right to loyal obedience. The function of the people is to select men upright, honest and zealous for social justice, to select a leader or leaders fit for their high office and great responsibilities. A sound and healthy public life demands, in a democracy more than in any other regime, the spirit of loyalty and reverence to lawful authority. The future of constitutional government depends on the realization by the people that their function and duty is to elect men fit to rule and that the principal constituent of fitness for the direction of public affairs is moral integrity and prudence. Only a people who put moral values first can work a constitutional and democratic government.

MICHAEL BROWNE

AN UNTAPPED SOURCE OF IRISH HISTORY*

BY SÉAMUS Ó DUILEARGA, M.A.
Honorary Director of the Irish Folklore Commission

I HAVE called this article "An Untapped Source of Irish History." With equal justice I might have called it "The Unwritten Literature and History of a Forgotten People." It is easy to guess what I mean by literature and history in this title; it is Irish oral tradition. But the reader may well ask what old stories and old beliefs have to do with the eminently respectable subject of written history, what unlettered country folk have to contribute to this important branch of study. To this question I answer by quoting an apposite sentence from Horace: "It is but a poor household that does not contain many valuables unnoted by the master of the house." In the household of Irish historical studies manuscript and printed sources have been noted and exploited, and the results of archaeological investigation have been utilized; but there still remains, for the student of our literary, social and economic history, an untapped source—namely oral tradition or, better still, the spiritual and material culture of the Irish country-folk. In this historical lumber-room of forgotten lore—of traditions, songs, tales, music, dance, peasant crafts and agricultural methods—there is much rich material not only for the historian but for the student of the Irish language and literature and for the artist, the poet and the economist. These tales, songs and traditions are indeed the State Papers of a forgotten and neglected people. In these unwritten records of the past the student may not always find what he is looking for; but he will often find something much more interesting—something that will repay his labour a hundredfold.

Irish oral tradition is known to very few. Most of those who have exploited it have been interested in it from somewhat one-sided, if laudable, viewpoints. The philologist

*The substance of a lecture recently delivered at a meeting of the Historical Society, University College, Dublin.

has on occasion prowled there in search of inoffensive verbal forms, which he has carried home for vivisection and examination under his linguistic microscope. The language enthusiast has also been there and has rejoiced to find material which, slowly dictated to him by Irish speakers, has helped him in his studies. But the historian and the student of Irish and Comparative Literature have, on the whole, passed by, so much the slaves of tradition (another kind of tradition, by the way) that they have not known or envisaged any field of research other than that of the library or the muniment room. This is an unfortunate state of things, which in the past has been largely due to the political fate of Ireland; but if it is to continue into the future, we shall have none but ourselves to blame.

What practical value do these oral traditions possess for the student of social history? I contend that this source contains a vast amount of material not available elsewhere; furthermore that it explains what is obscure in manuscript or printed sources, while in many cases it supplements the material available in them. To the student of Irish manuscript literature a thorough knowledge of oral literature and tradition is indispensable. In this unwritten literature he will find a great deal which undoubtedly emanates from or has been influenced by the literature of the manuscript tradition; but he will also find a huge quantity of literary material which has not been influenced by the manuscript literature—material which is the cultural background to the manuscript literature, the drop-curtain as it were to it all. Irish literature is a literature of the open air; its creators in all ages were the country people. The language which we seek to-day to revive is also that of country people, who—like speakers of any language—have been influenced by their surroundings, by their climatic and social environment. The student of the Irish language and literature, therefore, cannot fully understand the manuscript of the library unless he goes to its original source in the country.

The student of Irish history has many and varied sources at his disposal. First of all, he has the written documents,

the accumulation of centuries, from the newspapers and government reports of to-day back through the centuries to the earliest chronicles, laws, religious literature, poetry of the schools . . . . But the farther back he goes, the scantier grows the documentary evidence until at last it peters out, and there science must seek after new material. Here archaeology steps in and endeavours to interpret what remains of antiquity ; the graves, the crannogs, the cromlechs of the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages are made to yield up their secrets, to tell us of the life lived by our ancestors in early times. And hand in hand with archaeology goes philology, which endeavours from a study of language to add something to the lore of Ireland. But although all these sources are rich in material, still if we are to know and understand the life lived by the ordinary people, we must seek a wider field of research.

When one speaks with old people and listens to their reminiscences, one is brought to realize the vast change wrought within living memory in Ireland. Many people still living can recall conditions of life which, compared with the life of to-day, are as different as chalk is from cheese. There are two cultures in Ireland which strive for the mastery, the traditional culture of the country-folk, which has its roots in the earliest times, and the new or international culture, which has spread from the cities and towns. The issue is never in doubt. The old ways and the old days are disappearing before the new, which is being introduced in a thousand different ways—by cheap transport, sensational press, commercialized cinema, foreign-controlled radio, and so on. What is disappearing is the ancient culture of Ireland. Where are traces of this culture to be found ? Not in the towns but in the country. What has become out-of-date in the town will often be found fossilized in the country. Thus medieval fashions of the nobility in literature, art, furniture, dress are often discernible in the literature, dances, music, dress and domestic plenishings of the country people. If country-folk are slow in taking up and assimilating new forms of culture, they are equally slow in abandoning them as the tide of fashion changes. They are conservative by nature.

By oral tradition I do not mean only the romantic tales and fictions of a bygone time. Following recognized scientific methods, one can provide historical research with material on many aspects of social history. Suppose, for example, that some student wishes to know what the social conditions of the Irish country people were in 1800 or, still later, in 1850. In what kind of houses did the people live? What were the building materials, the general plans, the domestic plenishings of these houses? What kind of food did the people eat, and how did they prepare it? What clothes did they wear, and how far were these home-spun and home-made? What trades and occupations had they, and how far was the village or parish self-sufficient? What was the economy of the farm, the crops grown, the implements used, the daily routine? How did the country people employ their leisure time? What games and amusements had they? What literature? How far did they employ professional lawyers to settle their disputes and professional doctors to cure their bodily ills? What traces of the Brehon Laws do we find? What knowledge of medicinal herbs and of manipulative surgery? The answers to these and to many other similar questions will not be found in books or in manuscripts. The historian who seeks such answers must find them on the lips of poor people living in many parts of Ireland. But the time is fast approaching when not even on the lips of the living will the answers to these questions be found—the depositaries of such knowledge will soon have passed away.

Let us take a concrete example to illustrate how oral information may supplement social customs referred to in sixteenth and seventeenth century documents. I have chosen the custom known in English State Papers and to English writers of the period as *booleying* (Irish *buaile*, Scottish Gaelic *àiridh*, Norse *saeter*, Swedish *fäbod*). Spenser in his *View of the State of Ireland* (1596) refers as follows to this custom:—

> Of the which (customs) there is one (in) use amongst them to keep their cattle, and to live themselves the most part of the yeare in boolies, pasturing upon the mountains and waste wild places; and removing still to fresh land, as they have depastured the former . . . . By this

custom . . . . there grow . . . . many great enormities unto that Commonwealth. For first, if there be any out-lawes or loose people . . . . which live upon stealth and spoyles, they are evermore succoured and find reliefe only in these boolies, being upon the waste places ; whereas else they should be driven shortly to starve or to come down to the towns to seeke reliefe, where by one meanes or other they would soone be caught.

In language only too familiar to us from English State Papers, Spenser has much more to say in denunciation of this " lewd and barbarous custome " ; but let us pass to another English witness, Dunton, a bookseller whose curiosity brought him riding on a sorry nag to Iar-Chonnacht towards the end of the seventeenth century. Dunton wrote an account of his travels in Ireland, the original manuscript of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. I quote from a transcript of this manuscript :—

The house was one entire long roome without any partition. In the middle of it was the fireplace with a large wood fire, which was no way unpleasing tho in summer time. It had no chimney but a venthole for the smoake at the ridge, and I observed the people here much troubled with sore eyes, which I attributed to the sharp smoake of the wood ; and they also allowed it, but sayd they had newly put this up for a Booly or summer habitation, the proper dwelling or mansion-house being some miles farther neare the sea ; and such an one they commonly built everie year in some one place or other, and thatch'd it with rushes or coarse grass as this was ; we all lay in the same room upon green rushes. I had sheets and soft white blankets, which they emulate one another in verie much (I mean the housewives among them), and they assured me no man ever gott cold by lyeing on green rushes, which indeed are sweet and clean, being changed everie day if raine hinders not.

My third extract will be from a book published in 1934—*Peadar Chois Fhairrge*. The material for this book was collected by Seán Mac Giollarnátha entirely from the oral narrative of a native of the same district in Galway as that mentioned in the foregoing extract. For excellence of style and importance of matter the book deserves to be read and studied by all students of Irish social history. No student or professor of history could have provided the information contained in

it. The source of this information was an unlettered Irish-speaking country-man, Peadar Folan, who died in Galway in June 1930—just 230 years after Dunton's visit to Iar-Chonnacht. I translate from the Irish :—

> The cattle and sheep were driven out to the hills in the beginning of summer and left there until the end of the harvest. The women were in charge of the boolies daily from morning till evening. The men would come up in the evening and bring the milk home. The women remained at night in the shealing, five or six of them together, sleeping on a bed of heather—the healthiest bed mortal ever slept on—covered with home-made blankets and linen sheets, with a fire at the head of the shealing. They had excellent fare—oaten-meal bread and milk, porridge and, in harvest-time, potatoes. Each woman, when the milking of the cows was done, was busily engaged knitting and sewing until evening brought the cows home again for milking. At night they passed the time singing and dancing.

There are four pages more in this account of booleying as it was practised in Connemara fifty years ago, and there are many such accounts in the manuscript collections of the Folklore Commission. Our placenames also throw a flood of light on this ancient and interesting custom. There is indeed abundance of material for a fascinating study on this neglected but important feature of Irish social life. It must be remembered that the *buaile* was the summer counterpart of the winter *céilidhe ;* it was a centre for song and storytelling, where in the evening stillness, with the cares of the day over, story succeeded song and song succeeded story until the fall of the night brought this pastoral idyll to a close. The *buaile* therefore, like the *saeter* of Norway, has its importance also for the student of Irish literature.

The oral literature of the country, in so far as it has come down to our time, is a medieval one in thought, in style, and in treatment. Briefly stated, this oral literature—which outside of Ireland does not survive in the West, save perhaps in Spain—may be divided under the following heads : (1) Prose, and (2) Verse—or material with unfixed and with fixed form. The prose section may be subdivided into three parts : (*a*) the folk-tale properly so called ; (*b*) the *seanchas* (prose narrative of a moral or didactic character) ; (*c*) social, historical

or traditional matter expressed in narrative form. To the verse section belong the folk-prayer, medieval charm-prayer, folk-song, proverb, riddle (a very ancient literary form), verse with introductory prose, rimes, and so on. There are many other sections of which I do not treat here.

Viewed from a European standpoint, the most characteristic feature of Irish oral tradition is the märchen or folk-tale. In this the Irish and Gaelic Scots excelled all West European peoples. Exuberant imagination, at times grotesque in its exaggerative treatment of episode, added to a delicately artistic handling of the many motifs of which a typical wonder-tale is built up—all these have secured its pre-eminent place in the märchen-world to this product of the Celtic storyteller. But do not imagine that all Irish wonder-tales—that class of folk-tale in which the Gael excelled—are the offspring of the nimble and creative genius of the native story-teller. To the Gaelic Ocean of Story (to borrow the title of a well-known Sanskrit tale-collection) many streams of tradition have contributed. An important one of these streams is of Eastern origin.

Many of the folk-tales now told around firesides came from India in the Middle Ages, having been brought to our shores in a variety of ways. The medieval pilgrim carried some home from Spain, where he had been to the shrine of Santiago at Compostela; the soldier returning from the Crusades carried others from the East; the ship from the mouths of the Loire and the Garonne, besides its cargo of French wines, had often also its cargo of wonder-tales; the preaching orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, helped to introduce and to spread some of these tales, which like their first recorders, the Buddhist monks of ancient India, they used as *exempla* in their sermons—the faithful, then as now, treasuring the story while forgetting the moral teaching it illustrated.

This Eastern *stratum* in our literature has an interesting history. Originally folk-tales with an unknown antiquity behind them, gathered later into such huge collections as the Hitopadesa, the Pantchatantra, and the Katha Sarit Sagara,

then translated from the Sanskrit into Pehlevi, the literary language of Persia, and from it again into Arabic, Hebrew, and at length Latin, from which to the vernacular languages of Europe was an easy step—these products of the rich Indian imagination of an early time have had a long pilgrimage. And to-day this fugitive literature, after traversing half of Asia and the whole of Europe, finds an end to its oral pilgrimage and secures a haven of peace in the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission. Some day, when the work of collection has been completed, let us hope that these tales, which have delighted so many generations of our people, will be published in suitable form for the delight of future generations—both young and old.

In our folk-tales there is a *stratum* too of the " matter of Rome " and the " matter of France " (much of this originally a loan from a Celtic source and returned to us at a later date, having suffered a sea-change). And there are native stories, of course, the " matter of Ireland." But the reader will like to know what Irish *strata* or traces of Irish influence are to be found in the oral literature of the Continent. A hard question, and one to which a complete answer cannot be given for many years. When our folk-tales have been collected in their thousands, in Irish and English, from every corner of the land and when these, variant for variant, have been subjected to a minute scientific analysis, each type being reduced to what looks like an algebraical formula and each type being examined from a comparative standpoint—then and only then, will it be possible to answer this question as it deserves. But even now we can take a few examples which are distinctively of Irish or Gaelic origin and which, from their insular birthplace, have found their way like their heroes " farther than I could tell you or you could tell me " into the wide wide world.

In a remarkable study of the Icelandic folk-tale Einar Sveinsson, an Icelander, has pointed out unmistakable traces of Gaelic influence in the tales of Iceland. His book, which has appeared in the famous state-subsidized publications of the Finnish Academy of Sciences, is entitled simply " A

Catalogue of Icelandic Märchen Variants." Sveinsson points out, for example, that the motif known in Icelandic as *álög* has probably been influenced by Gaelic tradition. I have no hesitation in going a step further and saying that it is clearly a loan from Ireland or from Gaelic Scotland. This motif or formula has the effect of a hypnotic influence over the will. In Irish it is called *gess*. Usually this form of *gess* (I use the word in its secondary development) is imposed, one upon the other, by two opponents. It is a commonplace of Irish folk-tales. In Icelandic it is much rarer, but occurs in folk-tales recorded in modern times and in the older literature.

Yet another example. In Ireland there is a well-known motif in certain wonder-tales which is known to students of comparative literature as " The Everlasting Fight." I have collected, from Irish and Gaelic sources, between sixty and seventy variants of this type. In Iceland there are at least two modern folk-versions, and in the older literature—*e.g.*, in Snorre Edda—there are further examples. I have no doubt that this is an Irish loan in Icelandic literature. The motif is as follows. A hero on his travels meets with three warriors whose daily task it is to fight an army of soldiers. These they kill each day ; but on the morrow they find their opponents as hale as ever and must fight their battle all over again—and so it continues for a long time. The Irish hero, inquisitive like most of his countrymen, decides to stay on the battle-field, conceals himself amongst the slain and awaits what may befall. At midnight he sees approaching a hag of forbidding aspect, who has in her hand a jar of healing balm with which she anoints the slain warriors and thereby brings them back to life. The Irishman soon tires of his fruitless labour, kills all his opponents once more, and then kills the old hag herself—but, I may tell you, here his troubles really begin. If you are curious to know what happened to him, you should look up *Béaloideas*, journal of the Folklore Society, where you will find a number of variants and bibliographical notes.

And now let us take a tale still told in Ireland, the story of the Monk and the Bird. This beautiful legend, familiar to us all from the pages of the *Golden Legend*, has been studied

with exquisite care by Professor Hammerich of Copenhagen. As the reader will remember, it tells of the monk who listened entranced to the bird's song and, on his return to his monastery, discovered that he had been absent for several hundred years—*quia unus dies apud Dominum sicut mille anni, et mille anni sicut dies unus.* In its complete form the story occurs for the first time in a sermon of Maurice de Sully, Archbishop of Paris, *ob.* 1190. It is found frequently in the exemplist literature of the Middle Ages—in French, German, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Danish, English; in the nineteenth century it is widespread in Catholic Europe as a folk-tale, and in Protestant countries it has been popularized through literature when the Romantic movement brought the world back to the Middle Ages and revived an interest in things Catholic. Professor Hammerich, after a detailed and comparative study, concludes that this story of the Monk and the Bird came at the end of the twelfth century from Ireland to the Continent—at any rate to Paris.

Vain regret over the neglect of the past is idle and profitless. The pertinent question for us is—what must now be done? The first and immediate need is the accurate recording, in every district in Ireland, of the unconsidered trifles of tradition. Most of these, however insignificant they may appear, will be found to contain a kernel of knowledge when subjected to scientific analysis. I appeal, therefore, to my readers to collect what they can, whether in English or in Irish—the more variants of any tradition, tale or song, the better. How little light could be thrown by archaeology on the Bronze Age, if we had but a single bronze axe instead of a thousand in our National Museum! The same is true of oral traditions. When in doubt about the wisdom of recording what may seem trivial and unimportant, write it down. Leave to the Folklore Commission to decide whether it is important or not.

Some of my readers will, no doubt, have studied or seen the linguistic atlases which are a feature of modern linguistic research—*L'Atlas linguistique de la France*, for example. In the preparation of these maps a certain number of questions

were given to the collaborators to be answered by natives of the districts covered by the survey. On the completion of this field-work, the results were tabulated and mapped, various colours being used to denote for example different words for the same object. In a vast expanse of red one comes suddenly on a green oasis, which means that a certain word or phrase has been preserved for centuries in an area surrounded by people who use another word or phrase. By mapping results after this fashion much light is thrown on linguistic matters which otherwise would remain obscure or unexplainable.

Using these methods in the field of folklore, the German Government has set up what amounts to a special branch of the Civil Service. Assisted by some thousands of voluntary workers in the field, who supply information to carefully prepared *questionnaires*, a large staff of experts systematically file and study this information and eventually record on maps the results. This work, which has been in progress for some seven years, is still far from completion. The *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* is a monumental work, whose final results and conclusions are eagerly awaited by scientists all over the world. Some day, perhaps, such an atlas will be compiled when our traditions have been gathered. Even to-day an attempt should be made to compile a linguistic atlas of the dialects of the Irish language.

Yet another fine piece of research work is nearing completion, the Motif-Register of folk and medieval literature (from printed sources) carried out by Professor Stith Thompson of Indiana. He is also part-author of the famous catalogue of international folk-tales upon which almost all of the many national catalogues have been based. In these catalogues a number is affixed to each tale or literary motif, and in referring to a complex tale it is usual to give its number only. Thus the well-known Jason and Medea tale is 313, the Perseus story 300, the Twin Brothers story 303 (the oldest recorded tale in the world, of which the earliest known example is in an Egyptian papyrus of 1300 B.C.). All these tales, by the way, are well known in Ireland.

In a country like Germany or Sweden, where no such treasure of medieval lore exists, our oral traditions would have been utilized to the full and hundreds of monographs would have been written on and around them. What have we in Ireland done? Two or three monographs, a small amount of material collected, but most of the material still awaiting collection. All the material so far collected, in Irish and English, is only a tittle of what remains to be gathered in English-speaking and Irish-speaking areas. If we reflect on this, we can realise the magnitude of the task with which the Irish Folklore Commission is faced. The collection of the oral literature and traditions of Kerry or Donegal or Galway—nay of a single barony in any of these counties—would occupy our energies for a considerable time. Is it any wonder that some of us at times are a prey to anxiety and depression? But there is one source of consolation which never fails to ease this unpleasant feeling, and that is the memory of the hundreds of story-tellers and other informants who so courteously and generously put their treasures of lore at the disposal of our collectors. Let me recall one such memory.

Some months ago my work brought me into a very remote part of Donegal, unknown to tourist or language enthusiast, where an unspoiled people live a sheltered life in much the same way as their great-grandfathers did a hundred years ago. Our road a perilous *bóithrín* leading into a barren waste of snow-covered hills, night had fallen when we arrived at the house we sought. The people of this lonely farmstead greeted us warmly in the fine independent Northern way, and we sat around the big turf-fire, glad of its warmth after the bitter cold. A collector of the Folklore Commission, a native of the district, was at work, his recording machine and records on a table at the back of the kitchen. Four old men sat on one side of the fire, and on the other side were four women who plied their needles in unison, while they chattered in Irish among themselves—with one ear, however, on the general conversation. After the first surprise at the unexpected visit of a stranger, the *seanchas* began, at first slowly and shyly, but soon the tempo increased and the stored treasures of

ancient lore were produced one by one. We talked of the things about which St. Patrick wanted to know so much from Oisín *i ndia na Féinne*—tales and quips and jests, such as passed around the camp-fire of Eoghan Rua and which Friar O Mealláin unfortunately has not recorded in his diary, stories of the people of the hills (*bunadh na gcroc*) and more prosaic accounts of life in old times—all these things and many more were talked of and discussed, questions put and answers given, proverbs and old saws used with devastating effect, songs sung. And thus the night wore on. Irish was the only language used, a vigorous Irish with a hint of the cold north wind driving through it, a delight to listen to. As I sat there in the turf-fire's glow and listened to these epic tales and moving traditions, to these echoes from out an heroic past, I realized and rejoiced that in this busy rushing world there are still quiet places where men are happy in simple things and in simple joys. On this lonely and barren outpost of an older world the Middle Ages still survive and the medieval hero-legend, lost elsewhere, still lingers—a fact which few recall and of which the significance is lost.

The work of the Folklore Commission embraces everything of a traditional character which can throw light on the social and cultural life of the Irish people in the past. This material is decreasing as the old people, its hereditary custodians, die out. The archaeologist finds a certain consolation in knowing that the plough and the spade will provide him and his successors with material for research. The Irish folklorist, on the other hand, has no such consolation. For him each passing year is a tragedy ; some relic of the past is lost. That past, if a buried past, remains safely buried until the spade brings it forth for the archaeologist ; but a past that is an oral tradition dies with the depositary unless it has been transmitted to another retentive memory or committed to paper. This latter method of preservation is the work of the Folklore Commission; and it appeals to all interested in the ancient culture of our people, which illustrates not only the past of Ireland but also the past of modern Europe, to aid it in its work.

The collector of the Irish Folklore Commission, the collector of oral tradition, follows in the wake of a noble company who, at various periods in our history, have trodden the same path in search of hidden lore. Immediately before us have gone the language workers of the Gaelic League, the creators of a new Ireland. Before them went the officials of the Ordnance Survey of 1839—O'Donovan and Petrie and O'Curry. Farther back still, at the end of the eighteenth century, we find Lynch and Bunting sent by the Harpers' Society of Belfast to record the songs and melodies of remote Mayo. Looking down the long corridors of the past, we see them—the poor scholar, the scribe, the poet, the schoolmaster. Some of them we know by name—Mícheál Og O Longáin, Eoghan Rua O Súilleabháin, Seathrún Céitinn—but there is a goodly company whose names we do not know, of whom we can use the words of Ecclesiasticus: "Et sunt quorum non est memoria; perierunt quasi qui non fuerint et nati sunt quasi non nati, et filii ipsorum cum ipsis." In every generation there have been such seekers after knowledge, such recorders of tradition, who have rescued from the lips of old men or copied from treasured manuscripts the history of our people. This year we celebrate the tercentenary of the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Three hundred years ago Míchéal O Cléirigh and his helpers journeyed through the land, collecting materials for that great work, and finally completed in the solitude of Bun Drobhaois the task imposed upon them by Colgan of Louvain. We too, in a later age, seek to follow, however haltingly, in the footsteps of these great men. To-day, in their beloved Donegal, men of their own people are at work, native speakers of Irish familiar with country life and tradition, who are eagerly searching for fragments of the past and faithfully recording them lest they perish from the land. The world is changing rapidly, and with it Ireland. We owe it to the future to preserve some memory of the past in this changing world. If the Irish Folklore Commission contributes in some small measure to this noble work of preservation, it will not have laboured in vain.

Seamus O Duilearga

ANDRÉ MARIE AMPÈRE

BY REV. P. J. MCLAUGHLIN, D.SC.
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

THE centenary of the death of André Marie Ampère has been widely celebrated this year. A special commemorative stamp was issued in France. At Lyons important festivities had their culmination in the month of June. In America and throughout Europe many meetings took place in honour of the Newton of electricity. In these various celebrations the main discussions centred round Ampère's scientific achievements: other aspects of the great Frenchman were rather neglected. The fourth edition of Valson's *André-Marie Ampère*[1] comes as a useful corrective: it reminds us of an Ampère who is almost forgotten or unknown. Valson skims lightly over Ampère's scientific work. He concentrates on Ampère the man, Ampère the lover, husband and father, Ampère the tried christian. He deals also with Ampère the troubled philosopher, but scarcely does justice to the French Hamlet. He misses too the importance of other influences in Ampère's life. With the aid of Valson's work, the biographical notices of Arago [2] and Sainte-Beuve [3] and the voluminous diary and letters of Ampère,[4] we can form a fairly complete picture of the great French genius who influenced deeply, among others, Ozanam in Paris, Faraday in London and Callan in Maynooth.

The life of Ampère is of interest to the student of history as well as to the student of science. It was lived against the shifting background of the eighteenth century *salons*, of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, and France of the Restoration and the Monarchy. While Ampère, unlike most

[1] C. A. Valson: *André-Marie Ampère*, 1775-1836. Quatrième édition publiée à l'occasion du centenaire de sa mort. (Vitte, 10 fr.).
[2] Arago: *Oeuvres complètes*, t. 11, Barral.
[3] Sainte-Beuve in the introduction to Ampère's *Essai sur la philosophie des sciences* (Paris, 1843).
[4] *Journal et Correspondance de André-Marie Ampère*, Paris, 1872.

of his colleagues at the Institut de France, never became a professional politician, he had deep political convictions, and his sensitive mind reflected faithfully in his writings and opinions the changing shapes and colours of the periods he lived through.

André Marie Ampère was born at Lyons on the 20 January 1775, and was baptised two days later in the church of St. Nizier. His father, Jean-Jacques, was a merchant. Shortly after the birth of his son, he retired from business and went to live at Poleymieux, a few miles from Lyons, where his wife, née Desarcey, had a small country property. Jean-Jacques, a man of education and good parts, undertook the education of his son and two daughters. The boy showed, like Pascal, a precocious aptitude for mathematics. Before he had learned to read or write, he had devised a system of using a small number of pebbles or beans for performing prolonged and complicated arithmetical computations. During a grave illness these counters were taken from him, and he broke up a biscuit into pieces to take their place. This illness occurred when he was seven : for a time his life was despaired of : his mother made a novena to Notre-Dame de Fourvière for his recovery. He grew up delicate and kept small for his years. His passion for mathematical studies could not be repressed. He quickly mastered the elements of arithmetic, algebra and geometry. Before he was twelve, he was delving into the difficult writings of Euler and Bernouilli. To read these, he learned Latin from his father. M. l'Abbé Daburon, librarian at Lyons, lent him the books from the college library and undertook to initiate him into the mysteries of the infinitesmal calculus. At the first lesson he found that the small boy had discovered, off his own bat, a good substitute for the calculus, analogous to the method of limits.

At twelve, young Ampère took to literature. He became an insatiable and indiscriminate reader. History, travels, poetry, romance and philosophy appeared to hold equal fascination for him. Whatever preferences he showed were for Homer, Lucian, Tasso, Fénelon, Corneille, Voltaire and the now forgotten Thomas.

Ampère next turned to the twenty-one volumes of text and eleven volumes of plates constituting the *Encyclopédie*, which he read article by article, alphabetically. Half a century later he would dazzle his colleagues at the Academy of Sciences by reproducing with perfect accuracy long passages from the *Encylopédie* on " falconry," " heraldry " and all manner of specialised subjects. The retentive powers of his prodigious memory were perhaps less astounding than its strength and flexibility, which demanded an intelligence capable of assimilating without confusion the very diverse matters read alphabetically in the colossal dictionary of d'Alembert and Diderot.

To a prodigious memory and understanding nature had added a mighty imagination. Young Ampère read the *Encyclopédie* not merely as a memory-exercise or to satisfy boyish curiosity. His reading raised problems in his active mind and he vigorously searched for solutions. Thus the word *language* in the ninth volume of the dictionary transported him to the banks of the Euphrates and the Tower of Babel, when all men spoke with one tongue. Then came the miracle and divers tongues, stripped of simplicity, regularity and beauty. Ampère sought to recover the ideal primary language with its ideal qualities. He formulated its grammar and " compiled " its dictionary. He would recite a poem made in his primordial speech, and his friends were struck by the harmony of the verses—the only part of the poem they could appreciate, naturally enough. Ampère's " primary tongue " owed something to Sanscrit, for which his lifelong admiration began about this time. In later years, on meeting foreign missionaries, he would seek to compare his primordial language with the dialects of primitive peoples : he claimed to find many resemblances.[1]

Great gifts should be used with discretion, but discretion was lacking in Ampère's reading of the *Encyclopédie*. The

[1] Ampère's theory of language may be fairly summed up in his own words : " Language begins as music and ends as algebra "—*Les langues commencent par être une musique, et finissent par être une algèbre.* Every word in a well developed language is as precise in meaning as an algebraic symbol : in primitive tongues a word or idea is as confused as a musical note, which is a complex mixture. *Cf.* the recognised law that synthetic languages tend to become analytical. Lahr, S.J., *Philosophie*, t. 1., p. 445.

noble *Discours Préliminaire* by d'Alembert, with its inspiring account of the progress of human knowledge and its general classification of the sciences, intoxicated the boy and robbed him of whatever critical faculty he possessed. He devoured the huge publication without questioning the grandiose proclamation of its editors that it summed up all knowledge impartially and treated without bias every aspect of science, art, literature, philosophy and politics. In reality the work was a thirty-two volume pamphlet, so much propaganda for the *philosophes* or *encyclopédistes*. They were the leaders of "sweetness and light" in the second part of the eighteenth century. Their creed was reason, their tendencies deistic or materialist. They were enemies of ecclesiastical absolutism. They rejected established authority and tradition. They believed in a social evolution and asserted that man necessarily progressed towards an ideal of political and intellectual freedom. Seeing abuses around them, they criticised, but in the sense of belittling, contemporary institutions, customs and religion. They wished to improve the conditions of life, but only through a new régime that would arise out of the ashes of the old. Whether they met at the Café Procope, opposite the old Comédie-Française, or in "the kingdom of the rue Saint-Honoré" at the salon of Mme. Geoffrin, or in the salons of Deffand, Lespinasse, d'Holbach or Helvetius, the *encyclopédistes* developed and propagated their views with success. They began by promoting a habit of talking superficially and facetiously about everything, of toying with ideas, of seeking merely to please. They exaggerated the hypercritical tendencies of the Gallic mind, its subtle refinement and scepticism. They became bolder, more aggressive and dissolvant and spread throughout society that irreverence towards religion for which the name of one of them, Voltaire, has stood in France ever since. They made society pave the way for its own destruction.

Their contributions to the *Encyclopédie* were of very unequal value. The vast dictionary turned out to be, according to d'Alembert, "a motley garment made up of a few pieces of good cloth and an undue proportion of rags." But under

the indefatigable editorship of the brilliant Diderot, materialist and atheist, one and the same current of thought was made to pervade the entire work. By reason of this general trend of thought, the *Encyclopédie* eventually " altered the common way of thinking " in accordance with Diderot's purpose. Moreover it popularised the knowledge of applied science, diffused a spirit of scientific enquiry and provoked a thirst for precision.

Ampère in his precocious reading of the *Encyclopédie* succumbed to most of its influences. Voltaire's articles, with their scoffing philosophy, touched him lightly ; but the general irreligious tone of the work disturbed profoundly a heart that was naturally devout. Much of Ampère's subsequent unhappiness can be traced to the atheistical propaganda which deluged his mind at this period. The vast dictionary furnished his spacious and retentive memory with encyclopaedic information : it filled him with ideas. There resulted from his fulness of mind and natural impetuosity a tendency to turn a conversation into a lecture, to the admiration of friends and the smiles of colleagues, who would exclaim : " il s'emballe : he's off." The *Encyclopédie*, which exaggerated the importance of reason and imagination, begot in Ampère an undue conceit of man's mental powers, more especially of his own. His natural humility was in consequence overshadowed by intellectual pride, a certain impatience with the opinions of others and a shortness of temper—faults that he was to spend many years in correcting. By its faith in progress the *Encyclopédie* provoked in him a thirst for wider knowledge and a passion for furthering knowledge : at the same time it infected him with " that last infirmity of noble mind," a desire for fame and the applause of men. The *Encyclopédie* awoke in him a taste for metaphysics : it sowed the seeds of his later enthusiasm for philosophical abstractions and philosophical systems. Finally, it introduced him to the natural sciences while providing him with opportunities of exercising and strengthening his special talents for pure and applied mathematics.

The mathematical portion of the *Encyclopédie* had been edited by d'Alembert, himself a mathematician of the first

rank. Ampère's aptitudes were vigorously stimulated by the articles of d'Alembert, and for the next few years he gave himself unreservedly to his favourite recreation. He progressed so rapidly that at eighteen he was able to digest Lagrange's *Mécanique Analytique*, which had appeared a short time previously and represented the highest attainment of the period in pure and applied mathematics. Ampère studied Lagrange's monumental work thoroughly and worked out for himself most of the difficult and prolonged calculations. In after years he claimed that he knew as much mathematics at this stage as he ever knew.

The precocious intellectual development of Ampère was tragically interrupted by the death of his father, who was executed in 1793 by the Revolutionists. Young Ampère, disciple of the *philosophes*, had welcomed with more than boyish enthusiasm the explosion of 1789, and had shared the common hopes and illusions that the millennium had arrived for France and humanity. His faith was unshaken even when the Revolution reached out and laid a bloody finger on the peaceful region where he enjoyed a quiet home life. When the neighbouring château was burned and its owners killed, the Ampères deemed it prudent to take refuge in Lyons. There, Jean Jacques, in virtue of his high personal qualities, was made a justice of the peace. He played a notable part in combatting the excesses of the Terror; but after the terrible siege of Lyons, which had defied the extremists, he was one of the victims of the savage reprisals of Collot d'Herbois and Fouché.[1]

The shock caused by the violent death of a father so loved, so admired and so venerated threw Ampère into a state bordering on idiocy. For a whole year he remained totally deprived of his brilliant faculties. He did nothing all day but play childishly with pebbles and gaze vacantly at the heavens.

[1] Jean Jacques Ampère's nobility of character as a father, citizen and patriot is reflected in the dignified letters he wrote to his wife from prison before mounting the scaffold. His wife and two surviving children, André and Josephine, had returned to Poleymieux at the beginning of the siege of Lyons. His oldest daughter had died a short time previously.

His mother, who had lost a daughter and a husband in quick succession, now feared to lose her son. She prayed incessantly for the restoration of his reason. She tried every means she knew to cure his Ophelia-like sickness. One day she placed beside him Rousseau's *Lettres sur la Botanique* and a *Corpus Poetarum latinorum*. The child-youth opened the Latin anthology and chanced on Horace's ode to Licinius. The verse beginning :

> Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
> Pinus, et celsae graviore casu
> Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
> Fulmina montes.

swept through him as a breeze over Aeolian strings. A chord within him responded—faintly at first, then with growing intensity. The soul of Ampère came to life again. His vacant eyes brightened at the loveliness of the Latin muse. The letters of Rousseau awoke him to the beauty and order of nature, and by degrees his interest became scientific as well as aesthetic. He resumed his neglected acquaintance with Latin and he began to read the most difficult poets. Poetry and botany became passionately intermingled in his mind. He wandered through the woods and meadows, botanising and reciting to the wind verses whose magic mellowed his sorrow. Returned from his excursions he would arrange in his little garden the plants and roots he had collected ; he would name them and analyse their forms. These years were as poetical as preceding ones had been mathematical. He who at eighteen had read Lagrange, now at twenty attacked not only the Latin but also the Italian and Greek poets. He loved especially to recite in the originals the various descriptions of the horse by Homer, Virgil and Tasso.

Ampère's solitary wanderings continued for two years, and eventually led him to an idyl and a directive for his life. He had recovered from the more terrible effects of his father's death, and retarded adolescence was asserting its claims. " Arrived at the age at which legally I became my own master, I found my heart sighing because it had never been a slave.

Its very independence galled it. I had been brought up in an atmosphere of solitude and study, and I had loved them deeply ; but now I felt something wanting, and I was vaguely troubled and disturbed. One evening after sundown I was walking beside a lonely stream . . ." The fragment stops abruptly, but we can supply the sequence from Ampère's sacred diary, the *Cahier Amorum*. " Sunday, 10 April 1796. I see her for the first time." " Her " was Mlle. Julie Carron from the neighbouring village, St. Germain-au-Mont-d'Or. The vision of Julia in the gloaming by the bank of the stream produced in Ampère a lively and lasting impression. After four months he succeeded in paying a visit to her home. Julia's younger sister, Elsie, warmed to him at once and proved a devoted ally afterwards. Mme. and M. Carron temporised : Monsieur André seemed very young and very unsophisticated and Julia was many years his senior : however . . . . . Julia, if marble-beautiful, was marble-cold. This strange young man met by the brook disconcerted her. He was a problem, carelessly dressed as any artist, brilliant in talk, gauche in manner, with adoring eyes that, like those of a portrait, were always fixed upon her.

During the year that followed, the young man's visits to the Carrons were frequent, more frequent than the usages of good society and good manners permitted. Ampère ignored the hints that were let drop concerning the frequency and length of his visits. Reared in solitude he was untrammelled by conventions he had never learned, and he followed the dictates of his simple heart. Excuses were easily invented. He borrowed books from the Carron library, and never were books more faithfully returned. Cicero's *De Officiis*, Pascal's *Provinciales*, the *Maxims* of Larochefoucauld, Fénelon's *Télémaque*, nine volumes of Mme. de Sévigné's *Letters*, novels such as *Pamela*, *Kilpar* and *l'Orpheline Anglaise* one by one provided an excuse for calling at the home of Julia. The visits were filled up with talks, walks, gardening and minor carpentry—Ampère, in charge of the hammer, putting up pictures and installing a barometer. The scientist sometimes revealed himself, as when he brought the two sisters with

him to measure the height of the belfry of Saint-Germain: they accompanied him also when he carried out observations during an eclipse of the sun: they received lessons in the calculus from him. The Carron ladies were literary. There was much light poetry, charades and madrigals. Mme. Carron suggested more ambitious themes, and Ampère began several full-length comedies and tragedies. The papers which have been preserved, written in Ampère's large schoolboy script, show the turbulent fertility of his mind at this period. They contain verse in his primary language, French poems, an Ode to the *Assemblée Constituante* celebrating the birth of democracy in France, an epic *Américide* with Columbus as hero and Amerigo Vespucci and the cartographers as villains, numerous incomplete tragedies and comedies on classical subjects, philosophical poems on life and poems dealing with the natural sciences, some of the latter slashed with x's and y's, polynomial formulae and problems in probability. In this exuberant variety there lacked art, not facility.

Ampère passed happy days at Saint-Germain-au-Mont-d'Or. Unaccustomed to society and grown tired of solitude, he felt himself at ease with the Carrons. They were devout Catholics and he found in them a reflection of his own natural piety. He was confident that with time they would come to realize that he could make Julia happy. The various obstacles to marriage would be overcome one by one. He had faith, he had patience, he had courage. Julia would come to know his durable affection for her, that it was no passing fancy. His visits became more frequent, his attentions more assiduous. Julia was embarrassed by the constancy of his gaze when visitors from the city were present. The elegant, gracious and sensitive Julia dreaded being teased by her smart friends. To escape over-persistent attentions, she occasionally fled to her cousins, the Périsses, at Lyons. Elsie's letters followed her, pleading André's cause. "... I have no patience with those who judge a man merely by his exterior. Such people think they know everything because they can say: 'How do you do' nicely and utter a clever remark that is not worth remembering afterwards. ... If I could persuade you that

he no longer thinks about you, your complacency might be disturbed, but unfortunately the poor man thinks of nothing else. I sympathise with him deeply, because all your friends in Lyons run him down, except Mme. Périsse. They never ask : ' Can he make a woman happy ? ' That, after all, is the main point. When they've said lightly : ' What a man, how could you marry him ! he lacks polish and address, he is shy and awkward,' they think they've said everything, seen everything. The decision is yours to take. Forget externals, think of his character, his irreproachable morals : even his simplicity, the cause of his unsophistication, is in his favour. I don't deny he's obstinate in his opinions. What man isn't ? Better obstinacy in a man who thinks and reasons than in a coxcomb. Mamma is sure Providence will arrange everything, but I think Providence should get a little help." As for drawing-room manners and the art of dressing, these were mysteries that Ampère never was to master, but he gave evidence of good intentions. He procured a cut-away coat, fashionable breeches and a beaver hat, and the first time he appeared in them he was laughingly accused of having become a *muscadin*, an elegant royalist. Gradually André's constancy conquered. Julia came to appreciate warmly the depth of his character and the richness of his heart. When she realised his true worth, her surrender was unreserved. She met Mme. Ampère in a private house after Mass—public worship was still proscribed in France—and with her mother and Elsie visited Poleymieux. The mothers agreed to an engagement.

The major obstacle remained. The Carrons were not over-blessed with this world's possessions, and the Ampères had lost most of their fortune in the Revolution. André was without position and without prospects. Julia suggested he should start in business ; her mother advised him to enter a bank ; but Ampère's own sure instinct guided him to try to cash his mathematical talents and go in for teaching. He went to Lyons and lodged with Périsse, the publisher, cousin of his fiancée. He gave lessons to a small number of pupils but his remuneration was correspondingly small. Public education was being reorganised in France, and attempts were

being made to carry out the vast plan elaborated by the philosopher Condorcet for the Convention. It was hoped to establish secondary schools throughout the various departments. Ampère set about qualifying himself for a post in one of these écoles centrales should they materialise. His studies became intensified and discriminating. He took up physics and chemistry. He spent sous he could ill afford in purchasing equipment for experiments, and exercised stricter economy in his already poor way of living. There were compensations: visits to Julia at Saint-Germain, joyous afternoons in the attic of his friend Lenoir, where he met three other friends, Journel, Bonjour and Barret, youths with acute original minds and disinterested noble hearts. Lavoisier's important treatise on chemistry, published eight years before, was read aloud at the attic reunions.[1] Listening to the lucid explanation of recent and unexpected discoveries, Ampère became enthusiastic about the new science. Simultaneously with Davy in England, he resolved to contribute to the building whose foundations his illustrious countryman had secured.

Two years passed and Ampère's material situation showed little improvement. Julia, however, decided to face the uncertain future with him. The religious ceremony was performed in secret on account of the times (1799), and the civil marriage took place some weeks later, the epithalamium being composed by one of Ampère's best friends, Ballanche, the mystic writer. The cup of Ampère's happiness was full. He took his bride to Lyons and worked harder than ever to improve his circumstances, so that she should not know want or hardship. Julia returned to Saint-Germain in 1800 for the birth of her son, Jean Jacques, named after the paternal grandfather: he was to have a brilliant career in the domain of history and letters. Unfortunately Julia's health declined, and she had to remain in the country with her mother. Ampère's affection deepened: he became thriftier and stinted himself in order that his wife should have proper attention.

[1] Lavoisier, one of the ablest chemists of the age, founder of the anti-phlogistic theory. The science of chemistry as we know it began with Lavoisier. He was guillotined with André Chénier, the poet, in 1794.

Prospects at Lyons continued unfavourable; but in 1801 a secondary school was opened at Bourg under the Napoleonic administration, and Ampère was appointed professor of physics and chemistry, a position he occupied during two memorable years.

This appointment separated Ampère from his wife and child; but he was not discouraged. He visited them at Saint-Germain as often as his duties at the école centrale permitted. To save expense he invariably walked most of the forty miles from Bourg to Lyons. The serious discomforts he experienced on his journeys he made light of and treated as boyish adventures. When, footsore and weary with ploughing through mud and storm, he would accept a lift for which he had to give a pourboire, he redeemed the extravagance by greater economy thereafter. From Bourg he wrote long and tender letters to his wife, full of charming intimacy. Julia replied in kind, sending much motherly and wifely advice to her boyish husband. She understood the excitement he experienced at his first lecture; she was interested in the book he thought of bringing out on physics; but she was alarmed at his spending thirteen hours without a break in the chemical dungeon: he must be prudent and run no risks in his experiments, he must mind his clothes and be more careful about his personal appearance, or the Mme. Beauregard incident would be repeated.[1] In the ardour of experiment Ampère continued to forget about his garments. Julia adopted the expedient of keeping his best suit at Saint-Germain, sending it to Bourg for the special occasions when André had inspectors whom he desired to impress. The new suit did not, however, escape. M. de Lalande, the astronomer who determined the moon's parallax, was on a tour of inspection when Ampère, finely arrayed, delivered a lecture on chemistry. Suddenly a cork gave way and a jet of boiling acid struck Ampère full in the eye. Dr. Sylvain, who was standing by, at once squirted ammonia on the injured member. Tardily the half-blinded Ampère splashed ammonia over his clothes to counteract the

[1] Ampère had gone out to dine with hands stained by a drug. His hostess left the table saying the drug was too like manure for her appetite.

acid which had fallen on them. But his lovely new suit and his left hand suffered some damage. André had to take great pains in describing the accident to his wife not to alarm her unduly and yet avoid a scolding.

Ampère's letters to his ailing wife were usually cheerful and optimistic. In connection with Napoleon's prize of sixty thousand francs " to him who by experiment and discovery advances electricity and galvanism as much as did Franklin and Volta," he wrote : " I'll try to win the prize if I can spare the time. My book on physics deals with this subject, but I should like to perfect and confirm my theory by further experiments. If I win the prize, you'll no longer grudge the ten francs for your room at Charbonnières "—where Mme. Ampère had taken a water-cure. When, twenty years later, Ampère had earned the prize, Napoleon was no longer in a position to make the award, and André cared little about money.

Ampère never ceased to regard the post at Bourg as a stop-gap. The salary was small, and he was far away from his wife and son. When M. de Lalande told him that a lycée was to be set up at Lyons for which a professor of mathematics would be required, his heart jumped. Could he establish a reputation in time to get the chair ? A difficult problem in probability that had occurred to him during his wanderings through the woods of Poleymieux after his father's death came back to his mind. He had found a solution empirically. Could he establish its correctness rigorously ? He kept Julia informed of his progress in a series of letters that must have been as tantalising to her as episodic films to the conscientious cinema-fan. " At last, I know not how, the rigorous proof has come to me, and with it a host of new and interesting ideas on the theory of probability. If I published my solution I would have a good chance of a chair in mathematics. My little work in pure algebra, requiring no illustrations or wood-cuts, will be complete the day after to-morrow. I'll spend a week revising it and will send it to you per Pochou along with the check waistcoat, the thick woollen socks and the six louis I promised you. I want my manuscript printed as soon as it reaches Lyons. Ask your cousins to take charge

and pay them when they finish the printing. The six louis of this month and the seven of next must be devoted to that purpose, and I'll be sure of the chair at the lycée. We may sell some copies, but we must first of all send plenty to the savants at Paris." Shortly afterwards he wrote : " Yesterday I made a further discovery in the theory of probability as a result of solving a problem more difficult than the first. I am inserting it in my memoir." There were further delays : Ampère continued to make fresh discoveries. " New ideas have obliged me to recast the whole memoir : it will be much improved." Julia feared that in his desire for perfection André would never complete the work. He promised : " You will certainly get it next Wednesday along with my good trousers." Then Ampère had an alarming thought : was he working on problems already solved and published ? In his perplexity he sought information from the most distinguished mathematicians in Lyons, M. Roux, his rival for the chair, and M. de Lalande, the astronomer and inspector. They were unable to help him : they could not even follow his calculations : they were out of their depth completely and could only flatter him. At last Julia received a parcel containing three vests, a pair of thick woollen socks, some money and the memoir. She sent the manuscript immediately to her cousin Périsse, who promptly printed copies for the savants at Paris. The worries of the impressionable author were not yet ended. By an oversight a mistake occurred in one calculation in the middle of the work, the correct result appearing in the rest of the memoir. When Laplace, the greatest mathematician and theoretical astronomer since Newton, wrote from the Institut congratulating Ampère on his exceptionally fine paper, he called attention to the error, perhaps a little harshly, for Laplace had some personal vanity and was at that time hoping to make the theory of probability his own domain.[1] Ampère was in a ferment until he got another page printed for insertion in all the copies of his brochure.

[1] Laplace's classical work *Théorie analytique des Probabilités* began to appear ten years later.

This first scientific publication, which dealt with the mathematical theory of games of chance, obtained for Ampère the reputation he coveted. It attracted the attention of Delambre, one of the two astronomers deputed to measure the meridian arc which served as the basis of the metric system. Delambre succeeded de Lalande as general inspector of education and with Villars was charged with the organisation of the lycée at Lyons. He visited Ampère at Bourg and encouraged the young mathematician to write additional papers, the publication of which increased Ampère's reputation and brought him to the notice of Lagrange. At twenty-seven, Ampère was acknowledged by the foremost mathematicians of the time worthy of joining their small select company. When the lycée opened in Lyons in 1803, Ampère occupied the chair of mathematics. Success had crowned his courageous efforts and he looked forward joyously to being near his wife again, never more to leave her. Happiness at last ? There were two clouds in the otherwise clear sky : Julia's strength was rapidly failing and André was seriously troubled with religious doubts. In the shadow of these two clouds we leave Ampère for the present.

P. J. McLaughlin

(To be continued)

THE PRESS IN IRELAND

BY REV. STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

Part II—Some Catholic Periodicals *

IT is interesting and may also be profitable to trace through the course of Irish history those various currents of tradition and thought whose confluence (without commingling) makes the Ireland of to-day. One can distinguish many such currents—religious, political, social, cultural. Some of them may, at certain periods of our history, be hard to trace : they seem to lose themselves in the sands, yet may still be flowing beneath the surface, to well up again at some future time. Sometimes two or more currents seem to merge and blend, but again it is only in appearance. Sooner or later they reappear as separate streams. Among these currents of thought and of tradition there are some that broaden out and lose, for the time at least, their depth and power, while others flow in ever deepening but also narrowing channels. Some have their sources far back in Irish history ; others take their rise from some movement—some upheaval, perhaps—at some definite and not far distant period of the past. Some again have their perennial well-springs in human nature itself.

Most, if not all, of these currents of thought and tradition have flowed, and no doubt are still flowing, through pages of printed matter and particularly in periodical form. Indeed only in the latter form can certain traditions express themselves at all. Certain of these periodicals belong wholly to one tradition and allow but a single current of thought to flow through their pages. Usually other lines of thought appear, at least occasionally ; but usually also one line of thought predominates, one current only flows steadily and strongly.

Fully to grasp all the lines of thought and of tradition (I repeat the words, for tradition is not always thought nor,

* For Part I, " The Dublin Newspaper Press," see March issue.

of course, is thought always traditional) that find expression in Irish periodical literature and to classify definitely all Irish periodicals past and present as belonging to this line or to that would be the work of years. I can lay no claim to having accomplished so much. But in the course of such study as I have been able to devote to the matter it happened that gradually certain lines, perhaps as many as a dozen, began to stand out with more or less of clearness; various currents became at least dimly distinguishable. To name a few of them: there was the Wolfe Tone—Mitchell Fenian tradition, almost exclusively political; the Young Ireland tradition with its ardent but liberal and all-embracing nationalism; the modern Gaelic tradition leading to the Irish-Ireland movement (a term already gone out of fashion); the O'Connell tradition in politics leading towards a Home Rule already scorned before attained. Again there was the ecclesiastical tradition, the labour tradition, the Orange tradition ("glorious, pious and immortal memory"); the colonial tradition of Grattan and the Protestant patriots, and so forth. I do not at the moment venture to suggest where in Irish history lies the well-spring of any one of these, nor do I venture to point out those who to-day are heirs to these traditions. That were indeed a delicate task. I throw out the general idea for what it may be worth.

One such line of thought and tradition is represented, if I may venture to make the claim, by this Review. The main current seems to run thus—*Atlantis*, *The Lyceum*, *The New Ireland Review*, *Studies*—very different periodicals, no doubt, serving as vehicles for a great variety of ideas, yet of the same lineage and linked together by relations with certain academic institutions that were or are Irish and Catholic. Let us glance briefly at this line of periodicals.

To begin with *Atlantis*. It was founded by Dr., afterwards Cardinal, John Henry Newman, in order to afford to the faculty of the Catholic University which he had helped to found an organ in which they could give to the public the results of their studies. He meant it to aid in the creation of a Catholic literature. *Atlantis*—or, to give it its full title,

Atlantis : A Register of Literature and Science conducted by members of the Catholic University of Ireland—appeared from 1858 to 1863, with some further issues in 1870. A glance through the contents of its semi-annual issues gives an impression of its scholarly character and of the competence of its contributors. There are papers by Newman himself on the Benedictine Order and on other subjects, by Thomas Arnold on Greek literature. The Rev. W. G. Penny, Henry Hennessy, and W. K. Sullivan wrote on Mathematics and Physics, Prof. Renouf on Egyptian Hieroglyphics, Eugene O'Curry on early Irish literature. Other contributors were John O'Hagan, Denis Florence McCarthy, W. H. Scott and John Hungerford Pollen.

A period of nearly thirty years elapsed before the appearance, in September 1887, of the next in the same line, *The Lyceum : A monthly educational and literary magazine and review.* It was founded by a group of professors of University College, Stephen's Green—Father T. A. Finlay, S.J., Father O'Carroll, S.J., and Father (then Mr.) George O'Neill, S.J., who with Father Peter Finlay, S.J., wrote the whole of the first number. They were soon joined by other contributors connected with the College—William Magennis (Editor from 1891 onwards), Thomas Arnold (brother of Matthew Arnold), Robert Donovan, Robert Curtis, S.J., W. P. Coyne, Mrs. O'Gorman, and perhaps a dozen others. But at least at the outset the backbone of the Review was the work of the brothers Finlay.

In a brief article entitled " Prefatory " in the first number the aims of the *Lyceum* were set forth :—" To promote a higher Catholic literature, to discuss questions of scientific and literary interest from the Catholic point of view, and under guidance of Catholic teaching to contribute something, were it ever so little, to the solution in Christian fashion of the great problems social, scientific or religious which engage the minds of men in other lands." This, the writer admits, might be taken as the aim of other periodicals already in the field. He therefore proposes to " seek a corner of the literary field which is still unoccupied." Accordingly his staff will " treat

the themes they discuss in the tone and with the temper of theorists. We shall examine principles, not champion men; we shall seek the solution of problems, practical or otherwise, not advocate party interests or strive for mere party ends." One might well tremble for the future, in Ireland, of a publication of so detached and judicial a character. It was certainly not destined to be popular.

The contents of the review amply if not fully bore out its high aims. Some of the contributions, no doubt, were immature, being the work of undergraduates, but the main articles were ably written. They grappled seriously with the problems with which they dealt, or expounded competently their various themes. And these theories and problems were varied indeed, and sometimes formidable—land nationalization, evolution, pauperism, unearned increment as a basis of taxation, Rome and Communism (! December 1889), social reform, higher education for women, anticlericalism (in 1892), and so forth. Notable was Father Denis Murphy's series, afterwards published in book form, *Our Martyrs*, Father T. A. Finlay's series on psychology, William Magennis's on Social Reform.[1]

In 1894 the *Lyceum* ceased and the *New Ireland Review* took up the running, which it was to maintain for seventeen years. The contributors to the *Lyceum* transferred their support to the new venture, but signed their articles, and fresh contributors joined them—Dr. George Sigerson, Douglas Hyde, Eoin MacNeill, Tom Kettle, Arthur Clery, D. P. Moran, Sir Horace Plunkett, Dr. Grattan Flood—all of them men who left their impress upon the Ireland of their day. In fact there were few contemporary writers of note who did not contribute to its pages. We find the names of W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, Dr. William Barry, and George Moore. But again it is doubtful if there was a more frequent and a more consistently able contributor than Father T. A. Finlay, who was the life and soul of the Review.

[1] It is thanks to a chapter in *A Page of Irish History : Story of University College* that I have been enabled to mention the names of writers in the *Lyceum*. In the review itself the articles were unsigned. In the chapter referred to (pp. 289-322) will be found a much fuller account of the *Lyceum* and the *New Ireland Review* than could be attempted here.

Among the books that first appeared as articles in the *New Ireland Review* were Dr. Douglas Hyde's *Religious Songs of Connaught*, the groundwork of Eoin MacNeill's *Phases of Irish History*. W. P. Moran's *Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, *The Shakespeare Bacon Controversy* by Father W. Sutton, S.J., and *Letters from Ireland* by H. B. which was at one time distributed to all the then students of Maynooth.

But in 1911 an end came to the *New Ireland Review*: its bright green jacket was seen no more. Perhaps it had said its say. Two years before the old University College, from which it had taken its rise, had ceased to be: the new National University had arisen. No doubt it was felt that the new institution called for some publication on a larger scale and of a more academic character. Thus the place of the *New Ireland Review* was taken by *Studies*. This is not the place to discuss the career of that periodical. I must content myself with harking back to the statement of aims, subjects, and principles which appeared in the first number. "The work of organising our University system," it runs, "has recently attained definitive development. The occasion would appear a fitting one for an effort to produce a Review which would give publicity to work of a scholarly type, extending over many important branches of study and appealing to a wider circle of cultured readers than strictly specialist journals could be expected to reach." These "important branches of study" are grouped under four heads:—(1) General modern literature. (2) Celtic, Classical, and Oriental subjects, and historical questions. (3) Philosophy, Sociology, and Education. (4) Sciences experimental and observational. Religion is not named and, though articles on religious subjects have not been excluded, contributions of a theological or a controversial nature have all along been rare. *Studies* is not officially connected with the National University. But a great deal of the literary work (for the most part non-technical) of the professors has appeared in its pages. However, the career of *Studies* belongs to contemporary history. I need not pursue it further.

I may mention next two periodicals which have this in

common that they are directed by religious orders and are reviews of general Catholic interest—the *Irish Monthly* and the *Irish Rosary*. The former is edited by a Jesuit Father, the latter by a Dominican. The *Irish Monthly*, from its foundation by Father Matthew Russell in 1873 to the death of the founder in 1912, bore the impress of that genial and cultured personality. He called it first *Catholic Ireland*, to mark plainly its character. The title was altered after a few numbers had appeared, but not the character, which has remained from its foundation to the present day thoroughly Irish and Catholic. Under Father Russell's editorship its contents were largely of a literary nature. Later it tended at times to specialize in education and at times in social questions.[1] In one respect it has never varied—" We shall not," wrote one of its editors in 1923, " deal with the political contentions of the hour." The words might have been written by any of its successive editors : they were certainly acted upon. They do not mean an outlook that is unnational, but they do imply a holding aloof from most of the burning questions that have divided our countrymen. In fact the *Irish Monthly* does not editorially take sides, except in behalf of the Faith. Indeed, for the most part, it eschews " editorials " altogether.

From the outset Father Russell attracted to the *Irish Monthly* a group of contributors who had already made or were yet to make a name for themselves in literature—Denis Florence McCarthy, Aubrey de Vere, Rosa Mulholland (afterwards Lady Gilbert), Father Edmund O'Reilly, Dean O'Brien of Limerick, Father T. Corcoran, S.J. It is remarkable how many books have been published which first appeared in the pages of the *Irish Monthly*. Thus in the first volume or two appeared serially the *Lectures of a Certain Professor*, the *Relations of the Church to Society* by Father E. O'Reilly, and *Jack Hazlitt* by Dean O'Brien. Mr. W. B. Yeats contributed to its pages some of his early work, and many a budding writer bloomed, if we may so speak, under the fostering care

[1] In the first number for 1923, its Jubilee year, the then editor set forth its accomplishments and its future aims and ideals in an article which might fairly be called a model of its kind.

of the kindly editor. It is now in its sixty-fourth volume and shows no sign of decrepitude.

The *Irish Rosary*, founded in 1897, was conceived on somewhat different lines. It took the form of a popular illustrated magazine rather than of a review, but in later years it dropped the illustrations and approximated gradually to the character of a review. In the statement of its aims and hopes, which appeared in the first number, it was pointed out that the tendency of the reading public was away from books and towards periodicals. " It is from periodicals of all kinds that are gathered the ideas true and false, right and wrong which form the mental equipment of hundreds of thousands "—a truth which might well be borne in mind by all Catholic workers in the Apostolate of the Press. Again, " the language we use to-day and still more its literature are mainly of Protestant growth "—and the latter, when not filled with abuse and contempt of Catholicism, is filled with misconceptions of it. The writer goes on to say that the pages of the new magazine will be devoted to bringing before its readers all that regards the devotion of the Rosary and in general all that might serve to illustrate Irish piety in the present and in the past. He hopes that " our magazine may be the means of bringing to light many Irish memories." How well that worthy aim was fulfilled may be seen by glancing through the first few volumes. We meet with such titles as " Our Dublin Charities " (a series), another series " The Irish Convict Priests of '98 " by Cardinal Moran, " The Confederation of Kilkenny " " The Ruined Abbeys and Strongholds of the Shannon," " The Rock of Cashel in Penal Days," " The Story of the Black Abbey, Kilkenny," and biographical sketches of Irishmen such as Terence Albert O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, and Father Dominic O'Daly.

Not that Ireland was the sole theme of its articles. In the early volumes " Our Foreign Letters " formed an interesting feature, and there were papers on the foreign missions and on various other subjects of general interest. In recent years the editorial pages have been much developed, taking the form of vigorous and fearless comment on current affairs.

Besides the two magazines just dealt with, quite a number of others (mostly of comparatively recent date) appear under the auspices of religious orders. Thus there are the *Cross* (1910, the Passionist Fathers), the *Father Mathew Record* (1908, the Capuchin Fathers), *Assisi* (1928, the Franciscan Fathers), the *Little Flower Monthly* (Irish Sisters of Charity), *Whitefriars* (1935, Carmelite Fathers, O.C.C.), *Caritas* (1934, Order of St. John of God), *Carmel* (1930, Carmelite Fathers, O.D.C.). All of them are doing good work, each in its own way.

Besides these there are the organs of the missionary congregations and societies. Some nine or ten such periodicals are at present in being.

There is a class of literature little thought of by literary people but held of high importance by those who give serious thought to educational matters and those who, for various reasons, have at heart the training of the rising generations—juvenile literature. What have Catholics in Ireland done in this respect for our boys and girls? Little enough, I fear, but the difficulties are very great. For on the one hand Irish parents are scarcely alive to the benefits of Irish and Catholic reading for their children, and on the other hand it must be confessed that editors and publishers have been too prone to ask them to accept for national and religious reasons an inferior article. Anyhow it will be of interest to record what has been done; for it may serve partly as a warning as to what ought to be avoided and partly as a model for future efforts—and, I might add, as a quarry of materials for future periodicals.

The earliest periodical for juveniles that I am aware of, and the best, was *Young Ireland*, a penny weekly which ran from 1875 to 1890, a long life as Irish periodicals go. Vol. I contains stories by Nugent Robinson, Thomas Sherlock, Captain Mayne Reid ("The Irish Night Mail" and several others), Roger Starbuck. Vol. II has stories by T. M. Healy and John George McCarthy. Other writers for it were Attie O'Brien, William Boyle, Richard Dowling, Miss O'Neil Daunt, V. O'D. Power, James Murphy, P. G. Smyth, Annie Keary ("Castle Daly"), C. J. Kickham, Justin McCarthy, etc., etc.

All of these were writers of merit. Throughout the sixteen thick quarto volumes a fine supply of fiction, mostly national in tone and suited to boys, is kept up. It might well serve, not indeed as a model (the modern boy wants something different), but as an inspiration to similar ventures.

During part of its lifetime *Young Ireland* had a contemporary *The Catholic Children's Magazine*, a fortnightly, which appeared from 1878 to 1881. I have not been able to see a copy of this periodical.

The *Young Ireland* just described must not be confounded with another periodical of the same title—*Young Ireland:* "The Paper for the Young People of Irish Ireland," which first appeared in April 1917. It contains the usual stories suited to the tastes of boys; but the Editor, under the captions "The Times we live in" and "From the Editor's Chair," contrives to convey a great deal of helpful instruction on national matters. At p. 44 of Vol. I there is an article on Nationality and the Faith in which the Editor says: "Living in a Catholic country we could not ignore the Catholic faith and be true to the life around us. But though we are a Catholic paper, Irish Protestant nationalists will not be offended by our Catholicity." *Young Ireland* was published at first in Belfast, but was later transferred to Dublin. It lasted till 1923. The Editor until the transfer to Dublin was Mr. Aodh de Blacam; after the transfer it was M. J. Lennon.

Our Boys was started in 1914 and is still flourishing, and so has already attained its majority. It is conducted by the Christian Brothers. It is a valiant and most praiseworthy effort to do for Irish boys what papers such as *Chums* and the like do for English boys, but with a national and Catholic flavour.

Another children's paper, *St. Enda's* (1918-1924), was one of the many ventures of Mr. Brian O'Higgins of Stormanstown, Co. Dublin. It was started as a supplement to *Irish Fun*. It dealt in stories, poems, biographies, prize competitions, but had scarcely any illustrations. It was thoroughly nationalist, not to say Republican, in outlook. In the concluding number Mr. O'Higgins tells his readers that *St. Enda's* "was intended

to be a magazine devoted solely to the interests of young writers who would find in its pages publicity for their compositions in prose and verse." I am not sure that this design augured well for the success of the periodical. A long list of contributors is given (pp. 125-6) which is significant of the literary activity of the time.

Catholic periodicals for girls—such, for instance, as *Our Girls* (1930-33)—have all been shortlived.

Our next group or line of periodicals takes us back to the forties of the last century, when the great publisher James Duffy was at the height of his activities. Among his ventures in periodical literature the three principal were the *Fireside Magazine* (1850-3), the *Hibernian Magazine* (1860-4), and the *Irish Catholic Magazine* (1847-8). The first-named, which was edited by Dr. Reynolds known under the pen-name of "Brother James," was one of a numerous class in the history of Irish periodical literature—the family or home magazine. It described itself as a delightful monthly miscellany, and miscellaneous it certainly was. "A fireside magazine," said the editor, "should be filled with gentle thoughts, kindly feelings, calm reflections, and pleasant associations." Accordingly party politics and polemics were altogether excluded. The magazine had many interesting items, but did not enlist any noteworthy writers or strike any original note.[1] The *Hibernian* was a more noteworthy production. It was "a monthly journal of literature, science, and art," and fairly justified the title. It had many fine articles, mostly historical and topographical, by writers such as John O'Donovan, W. F. Wakeman, Father C. P. Meehan, stories by Charles Kickham, Carleton, and J. F. O'Donnell, etc. It was edited by the historian Martin Haverty. But much the most interesting of the three, to my mind, was the shortlived *Irish Catholic Magazine*. The list of its "permanent contributors" is a guarantee of worth. They were Dr. C. W. Russell of Maynooth, Dr. Geo. Crolly, Father Matthew Kelly, W. B. McCabe, Clarence Mangan, J. J. McCarthy, and Dean O'Brien of Limerick.

[1] Some similar magazines will be mentioned later under the heading of Family or Home Magazines.

An article which I should be glad to be able to reproduce here in full opened the first number—"A Catholic Literature for Ireland." Such a literature seems to the writer of the article "almost beyond any other thing the essential want of this country." He then proceeds to justify this view. He points out the all but complete estrangement between the leaders of thought on the Continent for a hundred years or more and Catholicism. That literature and the ideas it expressed had not yet reached Ireland. But that was owing to circumstances which had ceased to exist. On the other hand Ireland had long been educated and was still being educated through the Protestant literature of England—a Christian literature, on the whole, but deeply and inveterately anti-Catholic. The effect on Catholics was a tendency to a minimization of their Catholicism. Will Ireland always remain proof against a Voltairean Continent and a Protestant England? No, unless active means are taken to render her so. He goes on to suggest some of these means. Among them is literature. If literature can have so remarkable an effect in arousing nationality as the influence of the *Nation* newspaper shows it to be capable of, why should it not have a similar effect in arousing enthusiasm for the Faith ? This bare summary gives but a poor notion of this able and valuable article.

The review itself well repays study. It is full of excellent writing on important themes—historical, literary, topographical, biographical.[1] But the times were bad, and the venture had to be abandoned on the completion of Vol. II. Some seventeen years were to elapse before the appearance of a review which was to be the heir to this tradition.

The *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* was, however, in appearance at least, the heir of only part of the tradition, the ecclesiastical part. For this review, which was founded in 1865, was definitely intended for the clergy. The greater part of its space was from the outset devoted to matters concerning them almost exclusively. And this, no doubt, was as it ought

[1] The sub-title runs thus :—"A Monthly Review devoted to National Literature, the fine arts, ecclesiastical history and antiquities, biographies of illustrious Irishmen, etc."

to be. Yet one can scarcely glance through the long series of its volumes—over one hundred to date—without regretting that the treasures they contain have not been more widely known to the laity.[1]

For in the first place, even supposing (what is not true) that matters ecclesiastical do not concern them, by no means all of the contents are of a purely ecclesiastical character. We find scattered through its volumes occasional articles on the most varied topics—Shakespeare, Tennyson, Calderon, Darwinism, the Napoleonic Wars, Dante, Mgr. Molloy's papers on scientific subjects, Greek Mythology, the Ethics of Patriotism, the Economics of Nationalism, etc., etc. But the true glory of the *Record*, apart from its ecclesiastical functions, is the wealth of thought and learning which its contributors have devoted to Ireland, Irish history civil and religious, Irish antiquities and topography, the lives of noted Irishmen of the past, Irish ideals, Irish religious, educational and social problems. Herein it has rendered a service that cannot be too highly prized. Every important Irish library should strive to acquire a set of its volumes.

During part of its career—viz., from 1906 to 1922—the *Record* was so to speak companioned by another review, emanating likewise from Maynooth, of a more technical and (as its name implies) more exclusively theological character—*The Irish Theological Quarterly*. Its editors were Dr. Walter McDonald, Dr. Joseph MacRory (now Cardinal), Dr. J. M. Harty (now Archbishop of Cashel), the late Mgr. MacCaffrey, and Dr. P. J. Toner, and later Drs. M. J. O'Donnell, Garrett Pierse, E. J. Kissane, W. Moran and Fr. Paul Walsh. Its seventeen volumes form a treasury of valuable exposition, criticism, and speculation. Its disappearance was a severe loss to Irish intellectual and religious life.

Much the same might be said of the *Irish Educational Review* (1907-1914), an excellent quarterly which was edited by the Rev. Andrew Murphy of the Diocese of Limerick and

[1] There is, of course, nothing to prevent laymen from subscribing to the review, but many of them are daunted by its title. Quite a number of laymen figure among the contributors. To name only a few, there were R. Barry O'Brien, Dr. W. H. Grattan-Flood, Michael MacDonagh, John B. Cullen, Prof. Howley, Prof. Stockley, R. J. Kelly, Henry Bedford.

ceased with his death. It was not narrowly professional in its outlook, dealt with a wide variety of topics, and was open to writers who, in educational matters, belonged to different schools of thought. Fortunately much thought has been devoted to education in the pages of *Studies*, the *Irish Monthly*, and other reviews. Two purely educational journals are the *Irish School Weekly*, which is " under the editorial control of the Irish National Teachers' organization " and is the official organ of the Association of Secondary Teachers, and the *Teacher's Work*, which is a monthly.

To return for a moment to Maynooth and its publications, we must recall the fine work done for the Irish language by its Annual *Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhat.*

The *Catholic Bulletin* was started by Messrs. M. H. Gill & Son in 1911 as the *Catholic Book Bulletin : A Monthly Review of Catholic Literature*, but after a few numbers took the title which it bears to-day. The first title gives a clue to one of its principal aims in its early days—*viz.* to afford Catholics guidance in the selection of books for libraries. In volume II there was started a series of lists of " books approved as suitable for libraries." This did not go beyond the third volume, and thenceforward but little space was devoted to reviews of books other than those of the publishers, but the review carried on a vigorous campaign against evil literature. The early volumes had some important series—*e.g.* that on the Reunion of Protestants with Rome by Dr. Daniel Coghlan, afterwards Bishop of Cork, and on the Temporal Power by Mgr. Hallinan. For several years the magazine was enlivened by Father T. A. Fitzgerald's humorous stories of Dublin life. In 1916-17 the *Bulletin* published a series of detailed studies of the 1916 Rising. Among its regular features were Notes from Rome, Matters of the Moment, and the Editorial. Gradually these two latter (and later the feature From Far and Near) took on greater and greater importance in the contents. They were pronouncedly political and were reinforced by further political articles in the body of the review. The tone of editorials and articles was marked by violence of language. The Cosgrave Government was assailed

in every issue with extreme virulence. And both Catholics and Protestants who did not meet with the Editor's approval were held up to scorn and obloquy. In this respect the *Bulletin* differed markedly from most Irish Catholic publications. These remarks do not apply to the *Bulletin* as conducted at present.

Among other Irish periodical publications an honoured place must be accorded to the little magazines whose noble mission it is to maintain religious fervour and foster piety among the faithful. Such are the *Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, organ of the Apostleship of Prayer; *Madonna*, organ of the Sodalities of Our Lady; *Imeldist*, a pious miscellany for children; *Golden Hour*, which aims at fostering devotion to the Blessed Eucharist; *Virgo Potens*, issued by the Sisters of Charity; *Lourdes Messenger*, directed by the Oblate Fathers.

Besides these we have *St. Anthony's Annals*, *The Catholic Mind*, devoted to Catholic defence and polemics, *Up and Doing*, recently started by the Catholic Truth Society as an organ of Catholic Action, and a few others.

The Irish Catholic, founded in 1888 and still flourishing, deserves honourable mention here, as does our other Catholic weekly *The Standard*. But both of them were referred to in a previous article on the "Dublin Newspaper Press."

I say nothing for the moment of periodicals published in the Irish language. They may yet prove to be the most important of all because the future will be with them. But they call for separate treatment.

In conclusion let us cast a glance back to the beginning of Catholic periodical literature in Ireland and note in the after years some of the enterprises, generous but sometimes ill-considered, which prematurely came to grief and the wrecks of which are strewn along the years. The earliest, so far as I can ascertain, was the *Catholic Penny Magazine* (Dublin: Coldwell 1834-5), which ran for a volume and a half.[1] Of the next, *The Catholic Advocate* (1851), only a single number saw the light! This was followed closely by *The Catholic*

[1] It was a valiant venture considering the times, but was poorly produced and, perhaps, somewhat too exclusively religious.

Guardian or the Christian Family Library, a weekly (Duffy, 1852-3) which was strongly religious and national, containing politics, controversy, and a good many stories. It completed one volume. After that came *The Harp :* " An Irish Catholic Monthly Magazine " published in Cork, 1859, which had some able contributors such as Robert Dwyer Joyce, M. J. McCann, and J. R. Flanagan, but lasted only one year. After a considerable interval the *Monitor* (at first *The Illustrated Monitor*) was begun as an organ of the Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst and Agony of our Lord and continued as " a monthly magazine of Catholic literature." It ran from 1874 to 1878,. It contained plenty of interesting reading, but nothing very noteworthy or of high literary quality.

Two more recent ventures, short-lived but excellent in their kind, deserve more than a passing mention—*The Tribune* (1926) and *Outlook* (1932). The former represented an attempt to deal with politics and current affairs from a thoroughly Catholic but also national standpoint. It emanated from Cork, and its principal inspirer was Professor Alfred O'Rahilly. But not being a purely partisan paper, it had little chance of survival. *Outlook* was founded to give expression to the ideas of An Rioghacht, an organisation for the study of social problems founded by Father Edward Cahill, S.J. It was, I think, the only attempt to conduct a review dealing expressly and almost exclusively with social questions.

In the *Dublin Review* for April of this year there is a list of early Catholic periodicals from 1661 onwards. Upwards of 53 Catholic reviews and magazines are recorded for the period 1790 to 1850, when Catholics were as yet but a handful. This is in marked contrast with Ireland. But it must be borne in mind that in Ireland most of the ordinary daily and weekly press, metropolitan and local, even though not bearing the label Catholic, is in point of fact on the side of Catholicism. Such periodicals, mainly if not exclusively Catholic as regards their staff and contributors but in principle undenominational, I have not taken into account in this portion of my survey.

Stephen J. Brown

EREMON AND EBER

BY R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., D.LITT.
Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin

CRITICS of a recent book of mine, entitled *Ancient Ireland*, professed themselves unable to understand why that book was written. The reason was perfectly simple and ought to have been obvious. After long and careful consideration of the problems involved, in all their bearings, I had arrived at conclusions different from opinions which I had previously held and expressed: and common honesty imposed upon me the duty of admitting my former errors and of substituting what I had come to regard as more correct interpretations of the recorded facts.

I could give several illustrations, but here I shall concentrate upon one detail only—the nature of the so-called "Milesian" invasion, the leaders of which are alleged to have borne the names Eremon and Eber.

About this invasion the following were the beliefs held by myself and others :—

(1) This invasion introduced the Iron culture. And as there are no relics of the Iron Age in Ireland earlier than La Tène II, it is to be assigned to the date of that period, say *circa* 300 B.C.

(2) This invasion also introduced the Celtic language. The previous (bronze-age) inhabitants, who had occupied the country from Neolithic times onward, had spoken another language or other languages, whose nature and affinities are necessarily a mere matter of speculation.

(3) With the Celtic language, other Celtic elements of culture (social organization, religion, etc.) were likewise introduced by these newcomers.

(4) The peculiar custom of crannog-building, or fortification in artificial lake-islands, begins to appear with this invasion. It follows as a corollary that the lake-dwellers had to defend themselves—presumably from aboriginal natives, whom they had reduced to some kind of vassalage. This leads to the further deduction that the invasion established an aristocracy of foreign origin, to whom the earlier inhabitants were compelled to yield subservience.

The fourth of these propositions still holds: it seems to be securely established, and the social order which it indicates is amply confirmed by the legal and other documents which Irish antiquity has bequeathed to us. But I ought to have seen that the second proposition is quite incompatible with it. If the invasion said to have been conducted by Eremon and Eber introduced a crannog-building, self-protecting aristocracy, then it *could not possibly* have introduced and established the Celtic language; it must have found that language already current in the country.

For there are only two ways in which the language of a country can be changed—massacre and commerce. Annihilate the speakers of the aboriginal tongue, and naturally you annihilate their language with them. Hold up before the aborigines some economic, social, or other advantage in assuming the language of the invader, and they will assume that language and be glad of the chance. No other consideration will supply enough driving force to make a whole community carry through the stupendous task—a "whole-time job" for everybody and an impossibility for most adults—of changing their language and (an undertaking no less formidable) of maintaining the change. Outside massacre and economic advantages, mothers and slaves will continue to talk to the children in the only language they know; and even the invaders themselves, unless they continually renew their supply of wives from the country of their origin, will sooner or later—generally sooner rather than later—take to themselves aboriginal women, and their children will speak the mother-tongue in preference to, if not to the exclusion of, the father-tongue. This is one of the most threadbare commonplaces of ethnology, and I feel quite ashamed that I was so slow in seeing its bearing on the problem before us.

There certainly was no massacre of the earlier inhabitants at the hands of Eremon and his friends: nor did the invaders offer them any commercial or social advantages. Quite the contrary: the invaders came to get, not to give. They wanted the control of the gold-fields: they had not the slightest intention of paying for it. It may now even be doubted

whether they actually introduced iron, for a recent discovery of what appears to be Hallstatt pottery in Antrim suggests that the Iron culture *may* have begun to filter into the country earlier than we had supposed. In any case we may be sure that they kept their iron to themselves, and let their slaves continue to do the best they could with bronze or flints.

The probabilities are against the invaders and the invaded having a common language. But the newcomers did not establish their tongue by either of the two ways which we have mentioned; so that Nature did her work, and the language of the vanquished conquered the conqueror.

That conclusion being reached, the next question which arises is, when did the country become Celticized? In other words, what was the invasion next before the Eremon-Eber episode? Here we must rely on Archaeology alone, for the quasi-historical traditions—Fir Bolg, Túatha Dé Danann and the rest—have a folk-lore interest only.

Now there is a rising tide of evidence that the Bronze Age in Ireland was not, as I and others had supposed, an unbroken stage of history. It was interrupted in the middle by an invasion which appears to have been of the most violent kind. The indications are small in themselves—I have enumerated them in my book—but the evidence is cumulative, and it will unquestionably make the subject of an impressive monograph, when the suitable time has come and the suitable man to write it has made his appearance. It is not too much to say that this immigration was indistinguishable from a massacre: and it follows inevitably that it was this massacre which established the Celtic language.

And since my book appeared, Dr. C. P. Martin's authoritative work on *Prehistoric Man in Ireland* has been published, in which he presents the clearest evidence for *two* bronze-age populations: an earlier, long-headed people, associated with the megalithic monuments; and a later, round-headed people, associated with the short cists. There is no archaeological proof, such as would be afforded by associated grave-goods, to justify our assigning the latter people to "the beginning of the Bronze Age, or at least early during that Age" (*op. cit.*

p. 104). This is a slip ; for both the positive and the negative evidence make their invasion Middle Bronze-Age at earliest. Beyond all reasonable doubt they were an offshoot of the "Beaker People," who had colonized Great Britain at the beginning of the Metal Age ; but they had already ceased to make beakers when they came to Ireland, and their remains are not associated with early bronze-age material in this country.

We have now got, as established landmarks, the following sequence of populations :—

Neolithic and Early Bronze : Pre-Celtic Aborigines, long-headed, speaking an unknown language (or languages).

Late Bronze : Murderous invasion of round-heads from Great Britain ; who violently introduce the Celtic language.

The Eremon-Eber Invasion, perhaps in La Tène II.

I still assume the La Tène date for the last invasion, though it may be subject to revision as further discoveries are made. However, at the moment it is not the date, but the ethnology of the Eremon-Eber invasion which is in question.

First, they were a long-headed people. This is proved in Chap. XII of Dr. Martin's work : and moreover the osteological material, though still scanty, gives us just what we want—evidence of the long-heads mingling with the broad-heads and gradually modifying their specific character.

Secondly, they were a blonde people. The type of beauty and nobility held up in the literature of any people is simply the normal racial character of that people ; and it is once more a commonplace that blondes are the ideal type in the aristocratic literature of Ireland and that brunettes are despised. But blonde long-headed people in Europe are necessarily Teutonic in blood : the Teutonic is the only European race which displays those characteristics. And it follows, with the inexorable logic of Euclid, that the Eremon-Eber invasion was a Teutonic invasion.

Some people seem to have been vexed by this conclusion, though why, I cannot imagine ! Why should anyone make a personal matter of the ethnological affinities of people who lived somewhere about the time of Alexander the Great ? It

should be understood clearly that the question is not one of Teuton *versus* Celt: it is Teuton *versus* Nondescript. It is, or by now ought to be, well known that the word "Celt" has a linguistic value *only*, and possesses no assignable ethnological signification whatsoever.[1] True, Dr. Martin has called the long-headed people of the crannogs "Celtic"; but I fear that this is because he has been misled by some of my own earlier writings!

A cultural point of great importance must be emphasized in this connexion. The crannog-structures have their nearest analogues in Teutonic regions. They are virtually identical in character with the *terpen* or *werfen* of the Teutonic coast-dwellers in Holland and Friesland: the crannog-culture must therefore be accepted as Teutonic until some quite definite proof to the contrary shall come to light.

A Teutonic community will most likely speak a Teutonic language, even though that language may be doomed to perish by the processes above described. And in my book I suggested that the name *Eremon* represented some form of the Teutonic name *Herrmann*, and that *Eber* was a totemic name ("boar") analogous to the "horse" names of the legendary Teutonic invaders of England. I also quoted an identification of the name "Fomorian"—in essence, apparently, the name given by the aborigines to their invaders—with the geographical name "Pomerania."

Here the trouble began! "Perilous little philological excursions," said one critic. "Too easy philology," said another. "Mere *Volksetymologie*," said a third.

Now if all these good people had devoted to the sharpening of their wits the time which they spent in sharpening their quills, their contributions to literary criticism would have been much more valuable. They would have seen, in the first place, that these suggested identifications were not put forward as arguments for the, to them unwelcome, Teutonism

[1] Admittedly "Teuton" is a word which has also a strong linguistic content: had I been writing this paper a few years ago I should have used, instead, the non-ambiguous word "Nordic." But alas, this useful term has become putrefied through the touch of the leprous paw of politics, and it must undergo long quarantine before Science can condescend again to make use of it.

of Eremon and his companions. That is definitely established already, by the ethnological evidence. They are deductions from this proved fact, and their demonstrated impossibility would not disturb the fact or upset the proof. In the second place, if they had taken the trouble to look up the reference at the end of my book before going for me about the Fomorian-Pomerania equation, they would have found that it was not my suggestion at all. It is due to no less a master than Kuno Meyer: and I am quite content to have the honour of standing in the dock along with him and under his aegis.

But in the third place—of course these equations are *Volksetymologie!* That is why I suggested them. If they were not, if they were strictly in accordance with philological laws, I should not dream of putting them forward, because I should feel sure that they were wrong.

This is common sense, and not the paradox that it sounds. We may admit, without a moment's hesitation, that in ordinary circumstances two words in two different Indo-European languages are related or not, according as they can or can not be derived, by established laws of sound-shift, from some postulated ancestor in the theoretical Indo-European *Spracheinheit.* If they do not conform to those laws, even external identity of form will not save the equation.

The very simplicity of this principle, however, hides a latent danger. The philologist is tempted to forget that his science is a branch of Anthropology, and not of Mathematics. There is a human element which sometimes sets theoretical laws at defiance. It is to call attention to this very important principle that I am taking the trouble, which I should not otherwise have done, of criticizing my critics.

In the present case, we have not to deal with two words descended or not from a prehistoric *Spracheinheit.* The name of the invader, whatever it was, was sprung upon the Irish aborigines as abruptly as the name of Badoglio was recently sprung upon the Abyssinians. They knew nothing of its derivation or linguistic history: they had never heard it before: they certainly desired never to hear it again: he was the sudden portent of "a terrible man with a terrible name"—

which they were obliged to pronounce as they best could ; and we may be fairly sure that in doing so they did not trouble their heads with philological niceties.

Suppose that one of my good friends and critics happened to be travelling in some country—Russia, Armenia, Albania, or where you will—in which one of the lesser-known Indo-European languages is spoken. And suppose that he there makes the acquaintance of a man with a (to him) awkward and barely pronounceable name—call it Such-and-Such. Are we to believe that he takes a pencil and an old envelope from his pocket, and holds up the conversation while he works out a sort of philological sum, the gist of which is : " This word Such-and-Such presupposes an *urindogermanisch* What's-his-name, and that, in the branch of the Indo-European languages which it is my duty and privilege to speak, becomes So-and-So. I must therefore call this man Mr. So-and-So ? " We shall acquit him of all suspicion of doing anything so silly ; and yet he ascribes just such silliness to the aboriginal Irish when he insists that an identification of their " Eremon " should conform to philological rules, with the additional silliness of assuming that they were acquainted with those rules ! No—our friend will do the best he can with Such-and-Such ; and the aboriginal Irish did the best they could with the name of their invader. If the invader was called *Herrmann*, as I have suggested, and if they rendered this as *Eremon*, they did quite as well as the Romans who, encountering another Teutonic chieftain of the same name, called him *Arminius !*

Pages could be filled with examples of wild shots at words derived from the letters of children or of illiterates, or from the books of globe-trotters meddling rashly with unknown languages—aberrations which no philological laws that ever were formulated will account for. A small friend of mine once wrote to thank me for a " purrit " that I had sent her. The philologists would no doubt explain this as a " pussy-cat." They would talk about elision of intervocalic *c*, fusion of vowels, and back-formation from the onomatopœic word

purr. But I, secure in my knowledge of the nature of the gift, had no difficulty in understanding that she meant a *puzzle*. I am afraid this interpretation also dangerously approaches *Volksetymologie*, but it is none the worse for that.

A personal reminiscence is here in point. When I first entered the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and set foot in the Holy Land, an utter stranger to the country, its language, and its people, the colleague with whom I was to work, and who was well acquainted with all three, warned me that our Arab workmen would find my rather cumbrous surname a complete impossibility; and he suggested that I should make it easier for them by assuming the name *Iskander* —the form to which various philological processes have reduced the word "Alexander" on Arab lips, and which is a name familiar and quite frequent among them. I had no objection; but before long the people to whose convenience I had made the concession began to notice that my colleague, as well as our European and American visitors, called me something else; soon they began to imitate that "something else"; and not many weeks had passed before they had entirely discarded the name which the genius of their own language had evolved, and were addressing me by an imitation of the (to them) outlandish name which my ancestors have bequeathed to me, quite as close as *Eremon* is to *Herrmann*.

Just one more example. Suppose that all records of the tragedy called "The Black Hole of Calcutta" had perished except a fragment of an English newspaper, in which the person responsible was called "Sir Roger Dowler" [a fact!]. And suppose that I were to announce that in some historical research I had come across references to an Oriental potentate, living at that time and place, called *Serajud-Dawlah;* adding the suggestion that the apparent English gentleman of title and this personage were one and the same. How happy the critics would be, pelting me with *Lautverschiebung* and all the rest of their fearsome vocabulary! And in doing so they would be absolutely correct. But I should be absolutely right.

R. A. S. Macalister

THE IRISH IN CALIFORNIA

BY REV. GEORGE T. CROWLEY, S.J.

THERE are two places in the world to which, no matter where he may roam, a man will eventually return—Ireland and California. Then why do men live elsewhere, you may ask ? The answer is that these people have never visited the beauty-spots and enjoyed the charms of Ireland or California. If the reader should make a rough list of the Gaelic names in the *Four Masters* and then take up the Directory of the Golden State, he would be surprised at the number of times he would come across the same names in the latter work ; he might well wonder if Ireland had been suddenly transplanted on the Pacific Slope. California, since the Gold-rush Days, has been a paradise for the Irish, and Lady Luck has smiled benevolently on many of them. Irish names are scattered all over California to-day, and their bearers—as firm as ever in the old faith—fill not a few high offices and direct not a few big enterprises. The expatriated Irishman has always shown a remarkable capacity for forging to the front in America and elsewhere.

The first Irish settler in California was one John J. Read. Born in Dublin in 1805, Read came to California from Mexico in 1830. He married the youngest daughter of Don Sanchez, Commander of the Praesidio of San Francisco. The year of his marriage he was appointed Commissioner of the Mission San Rafael. About the same time a Don Timoteo Murphy arrived from Peru, where he had been in the service of an English firm exporting beef. Murphy, who came originally from the parish of Edermine in Wexford, was a remarkable shot with a rifle, being able to kill an antelope or a deer at a quarter-mile range. He lived and died a good Catholic, and was buried in San Rafael in 1853. By his will he donated 1,200 acres of land for an orphanage in San Rafael and many large lots for churches in San Francisco. Don Timoteo was a

bachelor, and so his broad acres passed to his nephew John Lucas, who also hailed from Wexford, the son of a '98 hero. Lucas lived in San Rafael, practised the religion and the generosity of his uncle, and bequeathed to a long line of descendants wealth and something better than wealth—the good Murphy-Lucas tradition.

Many an Irish emigrant took up his home in the Santa Clara Valley, the site of the old Mission Santa Clara, founded originally by Fra Junipero Serra and later taken over by the Jesuits. The climate was ideal and, with the facilities for education provided by the Jesuit college and the academy of the Sisters of Notre Dame, the Irish settler found in this valley a new Eden, which gave him two things that he had not in Ireland : the means to make a decent living and the means to give his children a proper education. Martin Murphy was one of the first of these settlers. Emigrating to Canada in 1820, Murphy passed from there to Missouri in 1840, where he was plagued with malarial diseases and lost his beloved wife. At the age of sixty he called a council of his family and friends—twenty-five in all—and it was decided to brave the hardships of a trip to the Far West. They prayed to God for guidance and then set out by prairie schooner on the eight months trek. Many times they ran short of food, and it was only their native faith and fortitude that kept them from those cannibalistic excesses of the later " Donner Party " caught by early snow in the mountain passes of northern California. Murphy, God-fearing and God-guided, like another Moses, led his people safely out of the land of bondage into the Promised Land—into a " land flowing with milk and honey."

In those days land was cheap in California, and Martin Murphy purchased large tracts of it and prospered on it. Like the patriarchs of old, he lived to see the second and third generation spring up around him on the Bay View Ranch at San Jose. About the year 1870 he was buried in the old Mission cemetery with all the honours his devoted children could heap upon him. All his sons were educated at the Jesuit University of Santa Clara, and all had successful careers. Bernard, who became a prosperous banker, was three

or four times Mayor of San Jose and for many years a member of the State Legislature. Patrick was also for many years a member of the Legislature, while Martin had a ranch of some 60,000 acres near San Luis Obispo on the coast.

In the Redwood country, on the extreme edge of Santa Clara County, one Charles McKernan settled about the year 1852, having emigrated from Leitrim in 1848. At that time raids from the Red Indians were a constant danger to the farmer, and in such raids most farmers considered themselves lucky if they escaped with a head of hair and a sound skin. Not so Mount Charley, as McKernan was called. Once, when journeying through the mountains, the Indians attacked his party and captured his cattle and horses. Charley, however, rallied his frightened and scattered forces, pursued the raiders, and after some hours of battle recovered his cattle and horses. McKernan was a man of courage—but sometimes to the point of foolhardiness, as was shown in the following incident. One night he saw a huge grizzly bear across a ravine, and though he had only a single-barrelled shotgun in his hand, he felt an irresistible urge to pull the trigger. The enraged bear, only wounded, lumbered quickly across the ravine and with one blow smashed Charley's skull. A friend finished off the bear before it had time to finish off Charley. Then they carried McKernan home and rode for the doctor. When the latter arrived and examined the patient, he gave him up for dead. After several days, however, Mount Charley came to. Though his forehead was all but demolished and his eyes seemed out of their ordinary orbits, he was perfectly rational and was soon up and about again. But in the course of time he began to suffer from severe headaches, which sent him all the way to San Francisco to consult a specialist. As there were no anaesthetics, the story goes that Charley chewed on nails while the specialist worked on his head with hammer, chisel and saw. The surgeon found that, as a result of the accident, some of McKernan's hair was growing in. The operation was successful, the headaches disappeared, and Charley McKernan lived happily for many years on his two thousand acres of the prettiest land in all the West. Below him was

Monterey Bay, a silver sheen in the morning sun, the bay so aptly described by Robert Louis Stevenson and so admired by tourists as one of the wonder spots of the world. Surrounding McKernan were the Redwoods—trees dating back to the days of the Pharaohs and the building of the Pyramids. The Redwoods have outlived Charley, but not so the Redskins who roamed over these regions. He watched, almost in sorrow, the last of them fire his last shot and then ride over the chalk hills of Santa Cruz, retreating before the grinding wheels of progress. The Redwoods, I say have outlived Charley McKernan; but one of them perpetuates his name, for it is called after him and under its shadow old timers still recount his romantic story.

Among the early California clergy Irish missionaries play a prominent part. The Right Rev. Eugene O'Connell, Bishop of Grass Valley, was a native of Meath and made his studies at Maynooth College. Austere in character and profound in learning—classical and theological—he was for several years Dean of All Hallows College, Dublin, and it was in the chapel of this college that, on 3 February 1861, he was consecrated Vicar Apostolic of Marysville, California. This Vicariate, which at the time of Bishop O'Connell's appointment had only four priests, was erected into the Diocese of Grass Valley in 1868. Under the wise and zealous administration of Bishop O'Connell the Church made rapid progress in his diocese, so that in 1886 it became necessary to divide it and create the new Diocese of Sacramento. Worn out with work and care, this learned and apostolic Bishop resigned his see in 1884 and died in the hospital of the Sisters of Charity at Los Angeles in 1891.

Monsignor Prendergast, a native of Tipperary, was in charge of Religious Congregations from the time of his ordination. More than once he refused the mitre and crozier, a testimony to his humility. His charity was the greatest of his virtues. He was known to sell even the necessaries of life in order to obtain money for his beloved poor. At a time when California was rich, Mgr. Prendergast was the poorest priest on the Pacific Coast. He helped to found the Sisters of the

Holy Family for work among the poor and the sick. This Congregation has flourished and has sent out many branches—a living monument to the memory of Mgr. Prendergast.

A word here about Mother Mary Baptist Russell, sister of Lord Russell of Killowen and of Father Matthew Russell, S.J., founder and editor for many years of the *Irish Monthly*. Mother Baptist, who was born on the 18 April 1829, entered the Mercy Convent, Kinsale, as a novice in November 1848. This was the year of the Great Famine, and it gave her the first experience of tending the cholera-stricken. Some years later she will have a similar experience on the Pacific Coast. On the 28 July 1854 a traveller from that distant coast, Father Hugh Gallagher, arrived in the convent. He had been commissioned by the Bishop of San Francisco, Dr. Alemany, to bring back with him some Irish Sisters of Mercy. Having explained the great needs of the diocese, he appealed for volunteers, and twenty-nine—almost the entire community—offered themselves. Bishop Delaney, however, would not allow more than five to go, and amongst the chosen five was Sister Baptist Russell. And not only was she chosen to be one of the pioneer band, but she was also appointed Superior. Mother Baptist and her companions, who were destined to accomplish so much in the New World, left Kinsale on the Feast of Our Lady's Nativity, 8 September 1854, and reached their new home on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 8 December 1854—the very day on which Pius IX solemnly defined that dogma of our faith.

In September of the following year the dreaded cholera suddenly made its appearance in San Francisco, and the Sisters immediately offered their services to the authorities of the public hospital. The following extract from a local paper, *The Daily News*, shows how their services were appreciated: "We visited yesterday the patients in the hospital; a more horrible and ghastly sight we have seldom witnessed. In the midst of this scene of sorrow, pain, anguish and danger were ministering angels who disregarded everything to aid their distressed fellow-creatures. The Sisters of Mercy, rightly named, as soon as they learned the state of things, hurried

to offer their services. . . . The idea of danger never seems to have occurred to these noble women : they heeded nothing of the kind. If the lives of any of the unfortunates be saved, they will owe their preservation to these noble ladies."

The dreadful epidemic not only opened the doors of the hospital to the Sisters, but installed them there in full control of the institution ; and when the municipality transferred the State Union and County Hospital to North Beach in 1857, the Sisters were granted a lease of the old building. Thus was sown the little mustard seed, which soon grew into a vigorous tree of many branches. It is unnecessary to give details of the many institutions—hospitals, schools, orphanages—founded by Mother Baptist during her several terms of office. She was elected Superior no less than six times—as often as the rules permitted—and in this we have a manifest proof of her capacity to rule and of the esteem in which she stood with her various communities. She stood equally high in the esteem of the general public, rich and poor. When at last death called her on the 6 August 1898, the *San Francisco Call* began its obituary notice with these words : " No death in recent years has been heard of with greater regret in this community than that of Mother Mary Baptist Russell, the sweet woman who watched over the destinies of various charitable institutions in this city during the past half century. . . . A more lovable character than hers has been rarely found. Her constant aim in life has been to uplift the suffering and the wounded and in this she was entirely successful." And of her funeral a non-Catholic journal, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, wrote : " No dead sovereign ever had a prouder funeral than Mother Mary Baptist Russell, whose life of self-denial and good works has crowned her in a city's memory."

Most of the early Irish settled in San Francisco—so much so that to-day the Telephone Book and the City Directory seem a study in Irish nomenclature. This was due in part perhaps to the fact that, coming mostly by the waterways, the Irish emigrants landed at the port of San Francisco. But other causes contributed to this permanent settlement and growth of the Irish in San Francisco : for instance, they soon

found that, by hard and honest work, they could acquire a modest competence, which often—as we shall presently see—developed into a large fortune; and there was also the reason that in San Francisco they had full facilities for the practice of their religion and for the education of their children.

Colonel Peter Donahue was, far and away, the dean of the early emigrants in the city by the Golden Gate. He came to San Francisco in 1849 from Glasgow, where his parents had gone during the persecution of '98. A blacksmith and a machine-mechanic by profession, he and his brother set up in First Street the first foundry and machine-shop on the Pacific Coast. In 1852 he started a gas works for lighting the city and in 1857, to the great benefit of the general public, he broke down "the greedy monopoly of the Californian Steam Navigation Company" by inaugurating a line of steamers between San Francisco and Sacramento. In the interests of the same general public he next turned his attention to the problem of transport. He provided San Francisco with its first line of tramways and maintained them for many years. By 1862 he held a two-thirds interest in the San Jose Railroad, which he later sold to Leland Stanford for a huge sum. With the capital thus acquired he built a railroad from the village of Donahue to Healdsburg—some eighty miles—and another from San Quentin to Mendocino and Humboldt Counties—a stretch of one hundred miles. All these works were carried out between 1870 and 1880.

Whatever Donahue touched prospered. Whilst others were feverishly digging in the earth for gold, Donahue was creating it by his enterprise. The first printing press and the first quartz mill in the State were manufactured by him. Quigley writes in *The Irish Race in California:* "Donahue started two of the larger railroads running north and east out of San Francisco, the Northern Pacific and the Central Pacific. He built the finest and fleetest boat in Pacific waters, the *James M. Donahue.* Finally, of Peter Donahue it cannot be said that he ever denied his ancestral principles or tried to trace his genealogy to any other than the immortal Irish Race." This last sentence—which pays a high, though indirect, tribute

to the character of Donahue—is double-barbed; its full significance will not escape the reader versed in Irish-American history.

John William Mackay, the wealthiest of the "Bonanza Kings," was born in Dublin on the 28 November 1831. In 1840 he was brought by his parents to New York, and from there he set out in 1851 to try his fortune in California as a mechanic. But the discovery of silver mines in Nevada awakened once more his adventurous spirit, and he again packed up in 1852 and turned his face towards Virginia City—which, in spite of its grand name, was then nothing more than a mining camp. Here he entered into partnership with James G. Fair, James C. Flood and William S. O'Brien—all apparently of Irish origin (Fair certainly came from Clogher). The Comstock Lode, one of the richest deposits of precious metal in the world, was discovered in 1859, and Virginia City became the most famous of all the mining camps in the Far West. It was in the Comstock Lode that Mackay and his partners discovered, in 1873, the "big bonanza" vein and thus earned the title of the "Bonanza Kings." Some idea of their vast fortune may be gauged from the fact that the yield of the Comstock increased from 21,000,000 dollars in 1873 to a maximum of 36,000,000 dollars in 1878. Their monthly payroll—and Irishmen were for the most part the beneficiaries—is said to have been at one period 480,000 dollars. Mackay and his partners worked hard for what they won, and they were all generous with their money. Many of the wealthy people of San Francisco owed their start to them. It is of interest to recall that the transatlantic cables which have their terminals at Waterville, Kerry, were laid by Mackay and James Gordon Bennett, and they are still under the control of the former's son, Clarence Hungerford Mackay. As a memorial to his father this son and his mother presented a School of Mines to the University of Nevada in 1908. Another memorial is the Catholic orphan asylum in Virginia City, which was founded and endowed by John Mackay himself.

In 1849 the Hon. D. J. Oliver, a native of Galway, was knighted by Pope Pius IX for his services to the Church.

On the occasion he presented the Holy Father with a silver brick valued at six thousand dollars, from which were struck the commemorative medals of the Vatican Council. When the Italians entered Rome in 1870, they seized this gift; but Mr. Oliver bought it back for five thousand dollars.

Amongst other successful Irishmen in California were the Hon. E. F. Martin from Enniscorthy and Cornelius D. O'Sullivan from Cork. The former possessed some 200,000 acres in California and 600,000 acres in Oregon. Of the latter we read in Quigley's *Irish Race in California:* "He employs many men and never turns his back on the men of his race. His wealth has been acquired by individual enterprise without the aid of 'rings' or political machinations. He has never sought any political office."

It was natural that the Irish should play a prominent part in the political life of California. Many of them were members of the Legislature. There was, for instance, Senator Frank McCoppin who, nine years after his arrival from Longford, was elected Mayor of San Francisco at the early age of thirty-four—something unique in American civic history. It was Mayor McCoppin who secured Golden Gate Park, one of the grandest and largest parks in the world. Mention has already been made of Martin Murphy, whose sons Bernard and Patrick were Senators. Another Senator was "Honest Tom" Fowler, who came from Down in 1847; "he is one of those men who cannot be purchased by all the treasure of wealthy corporations or by individual largesses." The Hon. John Kennedy, a member of the Legislature, was born in Stonehall, Limerick. He attempted to pass a bill reducing the fat salaries of city officials, but failed, though at the time San Francisco had the unenviable distinction of being the most expensively run city in the world.

Not a few of the Irish race came to California as soldiers in the army of the United States. Such was General Stephen Kearney, the first military governor of the Bear State, California. General Kearney was born in Ireland in 1794 and entered the U.S. Army in 1812. Distinguished for bravery and other military qualities, he rose quickly from the ranks,

until in the Mexican War he became a Major-General. He commanded the army of the West and made the famous march across the continent, an exploit which rivals Sherman's march to sea. With only 1,600 men he conquered New Mexico and raised the Stars and Stripes over Santa Fe. At San Gabriel, with 500 men, he defeated a strongly entrenched force of 1,500. For his great services he was rewarded with the Governorship of California, where his memory is preserved in Camp Kearney and in Kearney Street, San Francisco.

Other Irishmen distinguished themselves during the Mexican War. One day three sailors brought news to camp to the effect that eight American soldiers, nearly all Irish, were to be shot at San Antonio by the Mexicans. Some twenty Irish lads asked Colonel Burton, the officer in command, if they might attempt a rescue. As the project seemed foolhardy, he tried at first to dissuade them; but as they persisted, he yielded and directed them as to how they might succeed. They stole off into the night, reached San Antonio before daybreak, overpowered the guards, sounded their trumpets and raised a wild Irish battle-cry. The six hundred Mexicans rushed to the gates, found the guards overpowered, then in the confusion and terror of the darkness magnified the few attackers into thousands and fled to the hills. The little Irish brigade rescued their prisoners and returned to camp with only one casualty. Among the heroes were John Gallagher, Joseph McDonough, Patrick Lynch, James Dolan, John Murphy, James Melvin, and James O'Sullivan. We find these and other Irish names among the thirty soldiers who volunteered to rescue the American forces besieged in Los Angeles in April 1847. Guided by two Indians and a teamster, they set out for Los Angeles, covering a distance of one hundred miles in two days. Nicholas McDonough was the first up the hill, where he shot down a Mexican officer and put his four companions to flight. Then, as the account of the battle goes, "he threw up his cap, raised the Irish cheer so well-known in all the battlefields of Europe, and when the others came up, the Mexicans were retreating." Nicholas McDonough became later a wholesale merchant in San

Francisco; others of his brave companions also settled down to business or to farming in California—beating their swords into plough-shares.

Among the first settlers in the Yosemite National Park, one of the beauty spots of America, were Mr. and Mrs. Deignan —both born in Ireland. They live in the Park to this day and are noted for their charity. The man who first got the happy idea of having a fire fall at twilight from Glacier Point, some two thousand feet above the Yosemite Valley, was a certain Mr. McCauley, an early pioneer, whose son since married Mrs. Deignan's daughter. At one time McCauley owned a good part of the National Park, which he sold to the government. The Yosemite National Park is in California, and the man who presented Ireland with its first National Park—the Muckross estate, Killarney—was a Californian. Did one park inspire the other?

Among the descendants of the early Irish in California we had a noble example in John A. Lenahan, who died last fall in San Francisco. For thirty-five years he successfully conducted two of the finest evening High Schools in the State. In one of these schools the enrolment was 3,200, while the teaching staff was eighty in number. Time after time he fought the bitter anti-Catholic prejudice and, carrying his battles even into the halls of the Legislature, succeeded in placing many a young Catholic teacher. For eight years he taught Law at the University of San Francisco (the Jesuit University of that city) and had become a young lawyer of great promise, when he decided to devote his life to education. Perhaps the story of how his father narrowly escaped being brought up a Protestant had something to say to this decision; for his father was found in an orphan asylum in a mining town of Wales by Father Hecker, the well-known Paulist missionary. Surprised to find a boy of the name of Lenahan in a Protestant institution, Fr. Hecker asked him if he knew any prayers. The boy made the Sign of the Cross as his mother had taught him. Fr. Hecker then applied to the proper authorities and, obtaining custody of the lad, had him adopted by a good Catholic family. At the age of fourteen

John Lenahan came to America and took up the trade of machinist in Philadelphia. In 1870 he came to San Francisco, where he was considered one of the best lathe-workers in the city. It was he who constructed the iron pillars supporting the great dome of the State Capitol in Sacramento. John Lenahan, who was born in Roscommon, married Anne Byrne of Downpatrick. In 1886 he ran for State Senator against David McClure, spokesman of the Southern Pacific Railroad, and defeated him, though McClure had represented the district for many years. However, Senator Lenahan was not renominated, because he would not stand in with the political jobbers. From this time his health began to fail, and he died in 1903, bequeathing to his son his high religious and civic principles.

Thus closes the saga of the Irish race in California. Those gallant, energetic, God-fearing men have fought the good fight. Some have achieved fame and wealth in various fields; others have not; but all have left one priceless heritage to their children—the faith. In California, with few exceptions, an Irish name denotes a practical Catholic, and scorn is meted out to the renegade. The contribution of the Irish to American history is an interesting question; and that contribution varies with each State of the Union. Whether their contribution to California outweighs that made to other States is an equally interesting question; but it is not for a Californian to answer it.

George T. Crowley

San Jose
California

A SAINT OF LYONS*

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

EVERY one familiar with France must have been struck at times with the individual characteristics of so many of her provincial cities, indicative of a strong vitality and a local culture that have happily escaped absorption into the great capital on the Seine. It is not alone her Gothic cathedrals, unrivalled in Europe, or her more ancient romanesque abbeys and churches that confer distinction on so many of her towns, but rather a certain quality of sober architectural beauty and of dignified prosperity, the outcome of centuries of civilised life that neither civil war nor revolution has been able to obliterate. In addition, so many French towns possess a refined charm, not easy to define, that would make them, one imagines, attractive places of residence.

There is another test by which French cities, like French provinces, may be judged : their spiritual life. Reims, Lourdes, Paray-le-Monial, Lisieux, have, of course, their outstanding religious appeal ; but many other towns present characteristic features of which their inhabitants are justly proud. Such a one is Lyons. To the outside world Lyons is simply a flourishing industrial centre and the producer of incomparable silk. From the religious standpoint, however, it is far more than that. Its history, as the home of an organised Christian church, can claim a most remote antiquity. From the days when Charlemagne endowed the city with a valuable library so that its schools became famous, indeed one may say from the years when its first Christians suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius, Lyons has played an important part, theologically and liturgically, in the ecclesiastical history of France. Its geographical position, as between Rome and Paris, gave it from the first an easy advantage. Councils and synods have been held there ; its archbishops have enjoyed

*Le Père Chevrier. Par Antoine Lestra. Collection " Notre Clergé." (Flammarion. 1935. 12 frs.).

many civil and spiritual privileges ; at least one Pope, Innocent IV, resided there, and if in the sixteenth century Calvinism triumphed there for a period, it was at least quickly ejected.

Hence the diocese of Lyons has always boasted a solidly Catholic population, one not merely pious but active in all forms of apostolic and charitable endeavour. And this was never more clearly demonstrated than during the nineteenth century, when the ravages of the Revolution were restored throughout France with such amazing rapidity. M. Georges Goyau has asserted that never since the Middle Ages have Religious Congregations developed with an equal vigour and variety. Every one is aware that Pauline Jaricot, the foundress, in 1822, of the world-wide Propagation of the Faith was a native of Lyons. And other religious organisations—Marists and African Missions—both so well-known in Ireland—Petits Frères de Marie, Brothers of St. John of God, Dames du Calvaire and so forth—either sprang into existence or established their mother-house in the city, so that by the close of the century Lyons gave hospitality to more religious establishments than any diocese in France. It was last century too that the church of Notre Dame de Fourvières, that familiar landmark dominating the city, a popular pilgrimage spot since the seventeenth century, was re-built with much magnificence.

Clearly much of all this must have been due to a devout and zealous priesthood among whom were to be found the directors and instigators of the innumerable *oeuvres* of the district, and it is perhaps characteristic that it should have been from the ranks of the secular clergy that examples of outstanding sanctity were to spring. For the supreme glory of the archdiocese of Lyons in recent times is surely to have produced the Curé d'Ars, and its lesser glory to have given birth to and to have cherished the Ven. Père Chevrier, the subject of this sketch.

These two men had very much in common. At a critical moment in his career as a young priest, the abbé Chevrier had made a pilgrimage to Ars in order to lay his troubles and scruples before its Curé, this unique director of souls, and the understanding between them was so complete that

ever after he would turn to the Saint in moments of difficulty and of the spiritual depression to which he was liable. On his side the Curé always referred to his younger colleague with marked affection, regarding him as a son and frequently sending to him penitents of his own who happened to be resident in Lyons.

The abbé Chevrier, however, had far fewer difficulties to contend with before arriving at ordination. Both on the paternal and the maternal side he was descended from generations of silk-weavers, and although his father had forsaken his craft for a clerkship in the customs, his mother still spent long hours at her hand-loom in the little home in Lyons. Antoine, as an only child, was her constant companion. Madame Chevrier was one of those admirable, competent French-women of the working-class, a devoted if somewhat austere parent, for whom there were but two absorbing subjects of interest, her Church and her son. All through his life—for in the end she survived him—she pursued him with gifts and sound advice, striving to check his austerities with caustic remarks, proud of his sanctity but maternally anxious concerning his enfeebled health, sending him a mattress, boots, shirts and what not to mitigate his poverty, only to learn they had been given away by the priest to some one he deemed poorer than himself. It is comforting to know that in the voluntary surrender he imposed upon himself of all that it was in his power to offer up, he was never called upon to lose the blessing of his mother's love and it was she who closed his eyes after death.

A tall sturdy boy, Antoine Chevrier was sent to school under the Christian Brothers and proved so intelligent and exemplary a pupil that at the age of fourteen one of the curates of his parish church suggested to him to prepare for the priesthood. It appeared that he had never thought of a sacerdotal career for himself, but was overjoyed at the proposal. After passing through the little seminary at Argentière, he was transferred to St. Irenaeus at Lyons, where there still lingered memories of Jean-Marie Vianney who had so sadly failed in his examinations some twenty years earlier. Antoine Chevrier's

scholastic career, on the other hand, suffered no check; his only trouble was the increasing delicacy of his health and his only grief was that he had to renounce his desire to offer himself for the Foreign Missions in deference to his mother's blunt protest that she had not brought him up in order that he should be eaten by savages. After his ordination in 1850 he was appointed curate of St. Andrew's in the working-class suburb of La Guillotière, one of the poorest parishes in the city. Here he spent the first seven years of his priesthood, a fitting prelude to his life's work, years of prayer and toil and self-imposed privations which, unfortunately, seriously affected his health.

The outstanding event of these years was a purely spiritual one. Kneeling before the crib after his midnight Mass (Christmas, 1856) the abbé was favoured with a supernatural experience, realising with a vivid intensity to what depths of destitution Our Lord had reduced Himself out of love for us. He remained till morning filled with an indescribable joy, meditating on the mystery of the Incarnation. In after years he was wont to declare that he had been converted on Christmas night, and it was then he made a fresh resolution to sacrifice everything and to live in the greatest possible poverty in order to be nearer to the Sacred Heart.

About this time a novel experiment was being carried out in Lyons by a wealthy young silk-merchant who, in his own words, was tired of making 200,000 francs a year and who, helped by two friends, had founded a species of Catholic garden-city, grouping a number of detached workmen's houses around a central chapel under the name of *Cité de l'Enfant Jésus*. The three friends were enrolled as tertiaries of St. Francis, dressing themselves in blue linen blouses and living as far as might be as working-men in the midst of their flock, some 200 in number. It was a very genuine effort to evangelise the working-man and his family, the feminine needs being supplied by a *Soeur grise*, also a tertiary. At first the chapel had been served by some neighbouring Capuchins, but the need for a regular chaplain soon made itself felt and the abbé Chevrier, having by a happy chance heard of the *cité*, realised

its spiritual possibilities and at once begged Cardinal de Bonald to appoint him to the post. It was because the inhabitants of the *cité* had always addressed the Capuchin friars as " mon père " that they conferred the same mark of respect on the abbé, and it remained with him through life.

None-the-less the *cité* was not to prove the scene of Père Chevrier's life's work ; it was but another stage during which he experimented in methods of evangelisation, developed his rare gifts as preacher and catechiser, and gathered round him a little group of friends and helpers. It was during these years that he paid his first visit to Rome and received the habit of the Third Order from the hands of the Franciscan Minister-General, a ceremony which for him was his solemn consecration to a life of absolute poverty interpreted in the spirit in which St. Francis himself and the Curé d'Ars interpreted it. But even the bond of the Third Order failed to keep the workers in the *cité* in complete unity. The fundamental difficulty was the fact that while M. Rambaud, a layman, was the real owner of the place, Père Chevrier was merely the chaplain. Moreover M. Rambaud, with much reason, was above all keen on cheap and healthy workmen's dwellings as the necessary basis for a christian life, whereas the priest was intent on the catechetical formation of children and young people, the lack of which he felt to be the basic cause of the growing de-christianisation of France. Hence difficulties arose, and after much prayer and a long period of hesitation as to his true calling—a sore trial to his co-workers—Père Chevrier suddenly saw his way clear. In a slum area, near the *cité*, there came unexpectedly on the market a large hall and premises where nightly balls of more than dubious character had long been held. It was a moral plague spot in the district. The priest saw his chance and, without a penny, resolved to buy forthwith. The place was known locally as the Prado, and Providence du Prado it was to remain, though the name came to have a totally different significance. A priest friend guaranteed the necessary purchase money, gifts and donations flowed in, and within a few months the whilom ball-room was transformed into a chapel dedicated

to Our Lady of Seven Dolours (Easter, 1861). Many developments and re-constructions have taken place since then, but the humble chapel still remains as the much venerated cradle of that net-work of missionary labours that have borne such abundant fruit in the diocese of Lyons and that owe their inspiration wholly to the example of one poor priest.

It is impossible to follow Père Chevrier step by step in the progress of his apostolate—what are of interest to us are the special methods he evolved and the principles on which they were based. He belonged, of course, to the period when the French clergy, thanks to the Concordat, were in a sense State officials, and when the *prêtre bourgeois* was to be found far more frequently than among the impoverished and overworked priests of to-day. Ecclesiastics, to a great extent, still kept within their sacristies, and there existed practically none of those religious and social parish activities which were to spring up in the later decades of the century. Thus Père Chevrier's methods were all his own, and his acute realisation of the spiritual needs of his flock was the fruit of his own close communion with God.

His first great pastoral work consisted in organising catechism classes for those boys and girls who, for one reason or another, had failed to make their First Communion in the ordinary course. It was his plan for stemming the leakage that was devastating every industrial city. First evolved in the *cité* and transferred to the Prado, the scheme consisted in having two classes a year each of five months duration, during which time both boys and girls lived on the premises, wholly at the expense of the priest, receiving daily instruction under his close supervision. The First Communions were held with great ceremony twice a year, at Christmas and just after Easter, but even then the work was far from finished. Good situations had to be found for the young people, and the *Père* sought to keep in touch with them by every practical means—but mainly, we may be sure, through his own compelling influence. That he was a marvellous catechist goes without saying, but the basis of his success lay in careful preparation. From the outset of his priestly career he wrote out every

instruction and sermon, his notes filling many volumes. Most evenings of the week he gave catechetical instruction in the church, inviting written questions which he would answer on a subsequent occasion. In his more formal Sunday sermons his method was closely modelled on that of the Curé d'Ars—no learning, no eloquence, but simple words straight from the heart, " such as Our Lord might have used to the disciples at Emmaus."

As a natural corollary to careful preparation for First Communion was Père Chevrier's realisation of the supreme position of the Blessed Sacrament as the source of the spiritual life of all, whether lay or religious. Hence fifty years before the epoch-making pronouncement of Pius X he courageously urged the practice of frequent communion on his penitents in the face of much local prejudice, even venturing to assert that people in the world probably needed the help of the Sacrament more than members of religious congregations. Later indeed he became known as the apostle of the Holy Eucharist owing to the wise encouragement and help he gave to his penitent, Mlle. Tamisier, in her early efforts to propagate devotion to the Blessed Sacrament on the altar, a movement which, from this humble source, was destined to develop into the great international eucharistic congresses of our own day.

Yet it was as the apostle of poverty that he made the deepest impression on the world around him. For himself, in spite of increasing ill-health, he slept on a plank bed, lived mainly on potatoes, and wore the shabbiest of garments. He saw, with unerring judgment, that if priests were to keep any hold on the depressed industrial classes, they must live like the workers and display in their own lives all the apostolic virtues they preached to others. The Belgian " aumoniers du travail " of a later date were inspired by a similar conviction. It was a conception that would have greatly appealed to Leon Bloy ; but it was a heroic conception at variance with the ordinary practice of the secular clergy of his day and was at times the cause of no little scandal and annoyance to some of Père Chevrier's *confrères*. Thus in his own church the chairs were free and there was never more than one collection.

Except for funerals, for which the Bishop had fixed the fee, he allowed no definite sum to be asked for any religious rites. A priest, he declared, must never be *exigeant*, as nothing prejudiced unbelievers more than having to pay fixed sums for marriages and so forth. On the poor boys he trained so marvellously for the priesthood he would impress that they must never expect to live any better or to work any less hard than if they had remained in their very humble homes. Yet it is difficult to believe that on occasions his zeal did not outrun his discretion and that he did not at times ask of his devoted helpers more than they could be expected to perform, though always far less than he demanded of himself. Several young priests he trained and on whose co-operation he had relied preferred to labour elsewhere, and the pious women he enlisted for the care of his children enjoyed none of the helps and comforts of the organised religious life and had to live and work in the direst penury, even being sent out to beg their daily bread from door to door.

The work of the Prado was started in almost unimaginable poverty. From the outset the household included some twenty-five boys and girls of the catechism classes besides several tertiary helpers. Yet the Father unhesitatingly contemplated complete reliance on the providence of God for their maintenance, and never was faith more triumphantly vindicated. Prayer and begging were his sole resource, and of both he took on himself the major share. Perhaps his own greatest act of humility, and one that on his own confession cost him much, was to stand every Friday for an hour among other ordinary beggars, holding out his hat at the door of one of the Lyons churches on behalf of his adopted family. He himself relates how, at the outset, he turned back twice on the way, unable to face the ordeal, and only at the third venture could he compel himself to the act. Often abused and insulted, and even arrested by the police, in the end he was allowed to beg in peace. When his children were in dire need of bread he would kneel on the stone pavement. Financially he had his reward; for, apart from ordinary contributions, on one occasion an unknown lady pressed into

his hands a package which proved to contain 50,000 francs—the precise sum he needed to enlarge his premises.

Bigger sums even than this were required—and were almost miraculously subscribed by the generous citizens of Lyons—when the time came for inaugurating the work that lay closest of all to the Father's heart: the training of poor boys for the priesthood. Only the poor, he believed, could evangelise the poor and only they would lead the life of poverty that was fitting to such an apostolate. So, having collected round him one or two like-minded priests as the nucleus of a community, he opened his doors, free of any payment, to poor boys of promise willing to embark on a life of poverty and study in the hope of ordination. The work, owing to the human material selected, was extraordinarily difficult and failures were many; but Père Chevrier never lost heart, and progress though slow was sure. It was some ten years later that he was able to send his first batch of four young seminarists—all Franciscan tertiaries—to Rome for their theology, he himself joining them previous to their ordination, when Pius IX, in a private audience, gave him every encouragement in his enterprise. Thus was founded that Society of Poor Priests which to-day numbers some fifty ordained members, either in charge of the various *oeuvres* connected with the Prado or serving fourteen of the poorest parishes in the archdiocese.

It was for this young Congregation, vowed to poverty for themselves and to a ministry among the poor, that Père Chevrier, in his closing years, composed his *Véritable Disciple de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, the most important of his writings. Here he expounded at length, with the directness and simplicity of language that were characteristic of him, what came to be known as the *pradosien* method of prayer and meditation. To learn to know Our Lord, to love Him and to imitate Him faithfully in all things—such was the essence of the doctrine. The founder desired for his poor priests a spirit of prayer as intense as that of any monk or friar, but so oriented that, far from making them contemplatives, it would inspire and sanctify all their active parochial

labours. It was to him shocking that there should be a lower standard of spiritual life for the secular than for the regular clergy. He himself, all through his career, had felt the need for withdrawing himself at frequent intervals for a few days at a time, in order to renew his spiritual fervour through prayer and silence—indeed, in his eyes it was an essential condition of true apostolic work. In the *Véritable Disciple* Franciscan poverty, detachment from all earthly ties and a complete reliance on Providence for future needs were urged again and again. Descending to practical details, the founder refused to allow door to door begging, or parish bazaars and raffles, nothing beyond a simple statement of actual needs to inquirers or from the pulpit, and the usual church collection. He even reminds his disciples that the first act of any revolutionary movement is the despoiling of the churches, and draws from it the oft-forgotten lesson that ecclesiastical wealth is apt to be a moral offence in the eyes of the laity.

The perfect orthodoxy of Père Chevrier's doctrine was established by a preliminary decree when his cause for beatification came before the Roman courts ; and the decree conferring on him the title of Venerable having been proclaimed (1913), Cardinal Sevin, Archbishop of Lyons, immediately proposed him to his clergy as their patron and model. Thus the heroic virtue of the Founder of the Prado, which during his lifetime he had so assiduously and successfully hidden from the public eye, was made manifest to the whole Catholic world some thirty years after his death.

V. M. Crawford

TEN YEARS OF EXPORT TRADE

1924—1933

BY REV. EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

Part III—Foodstuffs of Animal Origin *

IN two previous articles we analysed Class I (Live Animals) of our exports and examined the changes in the quantity exported and in the value received during the last ten or eleven years. This Class I is a most important constituent of our export trade: it has never accounted for less than 38·97% and in 1931 it claimed 50·5% of our total exports. In other words, well over 40% of our purchasing power in the world markets takes the form of live animals. If the quantity or value of these live animals falls or if we are unable to find an effective demand, one or more markets able to absorb them, then we shall be forced (*a*) firstly to lessen our current investment of capital abroad (if any is taking place), and (*b*) secondly to lessen our purchase of foreign commodities—or alternatively to sell out some of our foreign investments to finance our imports. If we do not wish either to make investments abroad or to purchase foreign goods which we cannot produce at home, then of course the quantity or value of our exports of live animals (or indeed of anything else) has very little meaning. But if we wish or are forced to buy in foreign markets, ultimately it is a question of bartering our goods for foreign goods; and over 40 per cent. of what we have to barter consists of live animals.

Moreover, in our analysis we found that, for practical purposes, the live animals we had to barter were four: pigs, sheep, horses and cattle. As regards pigs, we saw that in 1934 we could only obtain a market for 134,000 instead of the 476,000 we bartered in 1931: with a difference in money value of £371,000 as compared with £2,186,000. As regards sheep, in 1928 we disposed of 586,000 (£1,377,000), but in 1934 of only 365,000 (£442,000). Horses exported in 1934 amounted to 12,959, a larger number than in any year since

* For Parts I and II see issues of Sept. and Dec. 1935.

1925, but the value was down by 50 per cent. or more (£992,000 compared with £2,216,000 for 12,274 horses in 1927). The exports of cattle in 1934 were 511,000 (£4,258,000) as compared with 858,000 (£14,674,000) in 1930. The net result was that in this Class I our foreign purchasing or bartering power fell in value from £21,000,000 in 1930 to £6,115,000 in 1934, and in number of beasts from 1,840,700 in 1930 to 1,023,000 in 1934 : a fall of £14,885,000 in value and 817,700 beasts in four years—and this in the four items which constitute 40 per cent of our total foreign purchasing power.

In 1935 a most marked change occurred owing to the Coal-Cattle Pact. The value of Class I (Live Animals) exports was £7,316,000—that is £1,200,000 higher than in 1934. Although still only a little over one-third of the 1930 peak value (£21,000,000), it appears that a definite rise has begun. In actual number of beasts exported of all kinds there was also a rise in 1935, when the figure was 1,087,000—over 60,000 more than in 1934.

I

We now turn to Class II of our exports : Food, Drink and Tobacco. This Class is an even more important constituent of our export trade than Class I : it accounts normally for something like 45 per cent. of our total exports and in 1933 was 49·78 per cent. Taken together, then, Class I and Class II form practically 90 per cent. of our export trade. And, as we shall see, comparatively few items of this Class II form the vast bulk of the whole class. When we have enumerated bacon, butter, eggs, Guinness and Jacob, and added in the live animal exports, we have accounted for something like 80 per cent. of our total exports. Any considerable drop in the quantity or value of this Class II (45 per cent. of our foreign bartering power) must undoubtedly denote a notable change in the economic life of Saorstát Eireann.

In 1924 at the beginning of our ten year period (the first year for which statistics of Saorstát Eireann's trade are available) Class II of our exports—namely, Food, Drink and Tobacco—amounted in value to £21,200,000, which was 42·14

per cent. of our total export trade. In 1933, ten years later, this Class had fallen in value to £9,500,000—a fall of £11,700,000. But despite this fall Class II had risen in relative importance to our total export trade; it was now 49·78 per cent. There was no improvement noticeable in 1934—Class II was still £9,432,000[1]; but a small rise occurred in 1935, when the figure was £10,117,000.

From 1924 to 1929 inclusive, a period of six years, the value of this Class remained relatively steady, somewhere about £20,000,000 a year. These were the years during which Class I was increasing in value steadily up to its peak year, 1930, of £21,000,000. They were what have come to be known as the "pre-crisis years," rather than the "post-war years." In 1930 the first sign of a set-back, a fall of £3,160,000 occurred in Class II, chiefly due to a fall in the *quantity* of bacon exported and to a fall in the *value* of the butter and eggs exported. In 1931 the fall continued—the total, £14,420,000, being almost £3,000,000 less than in 1930, once more chiefly due to a fall in both quantity and value of bacon, butter and eggs exported. The average price of the bacon exported in 1931 was 76s. 11d. per cwt. compared with 104s. 10d. per cwt. in 1930 and 112s. per cwt. in 1929. In 1932 a fall of £3,420,000 left the total of Class II at £11,000,000; further falls brought the total down to £9,500,000 in 1933 and to £9,432,000 in 1934—its lowest point. While the chief causes of this fall are to be found in the bacon, butter and egg exports, an important part was played by a noteworthy fall in the quantity of cereals exported after 1929, an occurrence which we shall examine later. What maintained the strength of this Class II during these four or five years of crisis was the steadiness of our exports of porter and biscuits, Guinness and Jacob.

II

Class II is sub-divided into five groups, A to E. The figures for the whole class and for each separate group, together with their percentages of total exports are given for

[1] Corrected figures of Monthly Statement, Dec. 1935.

each year from 1924 to 1935 in Table I. It will be seen at once that Group A (Foodstuffs of Animal Origin) and Group D (Drink) account for by far the larger part of the whole class—in 1933 for about 90 per cent. Group E (Tobacco) is relatively insignificant at the moment. Group B (Cereals and Feeding stuffs for Animals) is important chiefly for its reflection of changes in agricultural policy and practice. Group C (Other Articles of Food) has a certain importance from the fact that its most notable constituent is a fully manufactured article with a world-wide reputation and market—biscuits. We shall now examine and analyse each group by itself.

TABLE I

Analysis of Class II of Exports: Food, Drink and Tobacco, showing changes in value of each of five groups (A—E) and percentage of total exports.

	(1) TOTAL	(2) Group A.	%	(3) Group B.	(4) Group C.	(5) Group D.	%	(6) Group E.	%
1924 ...	21,200,000	13,800,000	27·44	468,000	743,000	6,180,000	12·29	962	42·14
1925 ...	20,650,000	13,000,000	29·96	736,000	747,000	6,170,000	14·23	3,968	47·62
1926 ...	19,250,000	12,900,000	31·25	560,000	659,000	5,160,000	12·52	4,449	46·74
1927 ...	20,900,000	14,100,000	31·91	970,000	710,000	5,130,000	11·61	4,396	47·33
1928 ...	21,170,000	15,000,000	32·79	788,000	797,000	4,640,000	10·17	1,672	46·44
1929 ...	20,550,000	14,470,000	30·92	507,000	610,000	4,960,000	10·60	1,360	43·91
1930 ...	17,390,000	11,200,000	25·13	268,000	502,000	5,420,000	12·15	3,122	39·01
1931 ...	14,420,000	8,860,000	24·42	180,000	570,000	4,800,000	13·25	1,911	39·74
1932 ...	11,000,000	6,270,000	24·29	140,000	527,000	4,070,000	15·77	3,369	42·65
1933 ...	9,500,000	4,813,000	25·24	173,000	346,000	4,150,000	21·79	4,987	49·78
1934 ...	9,432,000	5,198,000	28·48	106,000	350,000	3,776,000	24·41	1,940	55·40
1935 ...	10,117,000	5,838,000		87,000	350,000	3,840,000		2,250	52·00

III

GROUP A

FOOD STUFFS OF ANIMAL ORIGIN

This group of exports consists of 60 "items," numbered in the export list from 36 to 95. For purposes of practical analysis these 60 items may be gathered together under a few big heads, seven in all: (1) Pig Products (items 40-45);

(2) Poultry, Dead (48–53); (3) Fish (56–74); (4) Milk Products (75–84); (5) Eggs (85–88); (6) Fats (92–94); and (7) All other items of this group. Table II gives the figures for the whole group and for each of these sub-heads for the years 1924 to 1935. It is clear, from col. 9, that the first six sub-heads (the specific ones) account for most of the exports of the group: in 1933, for example, they accounted for £4,567,000 out of a total value of £4,813,000, and in 1934 for £5,087,000 out of £5,200,000.

TABLE II

Analysis of Group A (Class II) Exports (Food Stuffs of Animal Origin), showing change in value of imports of its chief items 1924-1935.

	(1) Pig Products (40-45)	(2) Poultry Dead (48-53)	(3) Fish (56-74)	(4) Milk Products (75-84)	(5) Eggs (85-88)	(6) Fats (92-94)	(7) All other Food-stuffs of Animal Origin	(8) TOTAL	(9) Total of Columns 1–6
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1924 ...	4,261,000	710,000	457,000	4,580,000	3,080,000	241,000	471,000	13,800,000	13,329,000
1925 ...	3,852,000	564,000	595,000	4,346,000	3,072,000	214,000	357,000	13,000,000	12,643,000
1926 ...	3,844,000	642,000	624,000	4,473,000	2,809,000	204,000	304,000	12,900,000	12,596,000
1927 ...	3,703,000	697,000	809,000	5,259,000	3,040,000	215,000	377,000	14,100,000	13,723,000
1928 ...	4,361,000	683,000	684,000	5,299,000	3,120,000	217,000	636,000	15,000,000	14,364,000
1929 ...	4,123,000	732,000	492,000	5,239,000	3,219,000	212,000	453,000	14,470,000	14,017,000
1930 ...	3,142,000	644,000	402,000	3,858,000	2,655,000	196,000	303,000	11,200,000	10,897,000
1931 ...	2,502,000	648,000	405,000	2,662,000	2,227,000	161,000	255,000	8,860,000	8,605,000
1932 ...	1,455,000	512,000	355,000	2,043,000	1,674,000	123,000	108,000	6,270,000	6,162,000
1933 ...	1,241,000	386,000	270,000	1,493,000	1,078,000	99,000	246,000	4,813,000	4,567,000
1934 ...	1,660,000	430,000	283,000	1,598,000	1,040,000	76,000	113,000	5,200,000	5,087,000
1935 ...	1,903,000	377,000	270,000	1,933,000	995,000	122,000	238,000	5,838,000	5,600,000

The whole Group A, Food Stuffs of Animal Origin, is an important element of our total export trade: it forms normally about 30 per cent. of that trade, though in recent years (1930-1935) its percentage has fallen to 24 per cent. or 25 per cent. In 1924 the total value of the exports of this Group A came to £13,800,000; by 1928 it had reached a peak of £15,000,000 (32·79 per cent. of our total export trade that year). From

1928 on there was a steady fall in the value of the group to £4,813,000 in 1933 (25·24 per cent. of total exports). There was a definite recovery in 1934 (£5,200,000), which was well maintained in 1935 (£5,838,000). The fall, it is worth noticing, began in 1929, a year earlier than in Class III and two years earlier than in Class I, the live stock class. It is true that the fall in this group was only a matter of £500,000 in 1929 as compared with 1928, but it was practically the chief cause of the fall in the whole Class II. The year 1930 saw a further " step " down in this Group A of £3,270,000, at a time when live stock exports were still rising. Another " step " down of £2,340,000 occurred in 1931, followed in 1932 by one of £2,590,000 and by a final one of £1,450,000 in 1933 : a total fall in five years of £10,200,000 in a single group of a single class. As the total fall in value of the whole of Class II between 1928 and 1933 was £11,600,000, it is obvious that the chief explanation of the fall must lie somewhere in Group A.[1] Before going into the details of this group, it should be remarked again that this *group* is surpassed in importance only by the whole of Class I (Live Stock). This single Group A is, for example, twice as important (from the point of view of mere value) as Classes III and IV taken together and at least as important as all the other groups of its own Class II taken together. It by itself alone amounts to between a quarter and a third of our whole export trade.

The first of our seven sub-heads of this Group A comprises the " Pig Products " of the *Trade and Shipping Statistics* classification, items 40 to 45 inclusive. We need only concern ourselves with the three chief products : bacon, hams and fresh pork. From 1924 to 1929 inclusive the exports of pig products remained very steady at £4,000,000 a year. In each of these years an average of 450,000 cwts. or more of bacon, of 14,500 cwts. of hams, and of 250,000 cwts. of fresh pork were exported. Then in 1930 the value of pig products exported dropped by £1,000,000 to £3,142,000. This seems

[1] The total value of all our exports fell from 1929 (the peak year) to 1934 (the lowest point) by £28,500,000. Live Stock exports (Class I) fell by £13,500,000 in three years (1931-1932-1933) : Food, Drink and Tobacco exports (Class II), as shown above, fell by £11,600,000 in five years (1929-33).

to have been largely due to a drop of 150,000 cwts. in the quantity of bacon exported, with a corresponding drop in the *value* of bacon exports amounting to exactly £1,000,000, the price of export bacon falling from 112s. per cwt. in 1929 to 104s. 10d. in 1930. Both the quantities and value of hams and fresh pork exported in that year (1930) went up definitely. The following year, 1931, saw a further drop of 34,000 cwts. in the *quantity* and of £500,000 in the *value* of the bacon exports : this time also the *price* of exported bacon had again fallen steeply from 104s. 10d. per cwt. in 1930 to 76s. 11d. in 1931. The quantity of hams exported in this year 1931 remained steady, but the value fell owing to a fall in price from 132s. 8d. per cwt. to 102s. 2d. per cwt. As for the exports of fresh pork, they rose considerably in quantity, but fell in total value slightly—the price dropping from 85s. 6d. per cwt. in 1930 to 63s. 7d. in 1931.

The year 1932 saw a further drop of over £1,000,000 in the value of the exports of pig products. Of this drop, one half (£500,000) was due to a fall in quantity and value of bacon exported : the price falling yet again to 64s. 5d. and the quantity being 93,000 cwts. less. The quantity of hams exported remained steady, but the fall of the price to 83s. 9d. per cwt. brought down the value. As for fresh pork, there were 110,000 cwts. less exported, and the price falling to 51s. 4d. brought the value of this item down by £500,000.

In 1933 the quantity of bacon exported remained steady, but the fall in prices continuing produced a drop in value of £36,000 (the price being 59s. 6d. per cwt.). It was the end of the fall. The export of hams rose by two-thirds in quantity (from 16,000 cwts. to 25,500 cwts.), but the rise in value was only £25,000, on account of the continued fall in price to 72s. 1d. The exports of fresh pork continued to fall in quantity, value and price—a fall which lasted into 1934 and has only been barely checked in 1935. On the other hand, the exports of bacon and hams showed a decided recovery in 1934 (402,000 cwts. valued at £1,229,000) and a still further rise in 1935 (501,000 cwts. valued at £1,493,076). The whole question of our Pig Industry has been the subject of two very

admirable reports (No. 687 and No. 1170) and of a considerable amount of legislative and administrative activity in the last couple of years. We hope to deal with it in a separate article at a later date. For the moment a few words must suffice.

The chief market—indeed, for practical purposes, the only market—to which Saorstát Eireann exports pig products is England. Now England has annual imports of bacon alone amounting to between 8,000,000 and 12,000,000 cwts. Her two great suppliers are Denmark and the Netherlands, with Sweden and Poland as runners-up. Denmark in 1928-1932 sold to England between six and seven million cwt. of bacon annually. The Netherlands sold her another million annually. There seems to be ample room in this market for the Saorstát. In 1931 the Agricultural Marketing Act was passed in England, and in October 1932 certain recommendations as to supplies of bacon and hams were made. The most important of these were: (*a*) the stabilisation of supplies of bacon and hams in the United kingdom at 10,670,000 cwts. per annum; (*b*) the regulation of imports of bacon and hams by quotas assigned to particular countries. From September 1933 the exports from Saorstát Eireann of bacon, hams, pig carcases intended for curing and live pigs intended for conversion into bacon came under a quota.

Even before this another obstacle to the exports of pig products had been set up by the Special Duties Act of the United Kingdom, under which live pigs from the Saorstát had to pay a duty of 20 per cent. *ad valorem* from July 1932 to November 1932 and from that date 40 per cent. *ad valorem*. Pig products were eventually subjected to a duty of 16s. per cwt. or 40 per cent. *ad valorem* (from November, 1933, up to which it had been 30 per cent.). To meet these special duties the Saorstát paid bounties on live pigs and pig products exported after October 1932. A bounty of 25 per cent. *ad valorem* was paid on live pigs exported to England, and 16s., 12s. and 5s. per cwt. on respectively, bacon, pork and offals. In 1933, £125,236 were distributed in bounties on pig products alone, while in 1934 the bounties had risen to £284,332 and in 1935 to £567,000.

Yet another factor affecting the exports of pig products in recent years was the duty placed on imports of bacon into Saorstát Eireann. This was first imposed by an Order of 30 December, 1931, which put a duty of 50s. per cwt. on bacon whose "certified price" did not exceed 30s. in the London or Liverpool markets. The rate of duty decreased as the "certified price" rose, so that bacon costing 75s. per cwt. in London paid no duty. This method of protection was changed in July 1932, when a duty of 84s. per cwt. (preferential, 56s. per cwt.) was placed on pig products. The result was a sudden drop in the imports of pig products of

TABLE III

Exports (Quantity, Value and Price) of Pig Products

	Bacon Exports			Ham Exports			Fresh Pork Exports		
	Quantity	Value	Price	Quantity	Value	Price	Quantity	Value	Price
	Cwts.	£	per cwt.	Cwts.	£		Cwts.	£	
1928 ...	557,000	2,730,000	100/-	17,000	102,200	120/11	360,000	1,415,000	78/8
1929 ...	482,000	2,720,000	112/10	14,000	96,200	134/5	273,000	1,203,000	88/-
1930 ...	329,000	1,725,000	104/10	16,000	106,700	132/8	283,000	1,211,000	85/6
1931 ...	295,000	1,135,000	76/11	16,000	81,000	102/1	373,000	1,187,000	63/7
1932 ...	202,000	651,000	64/5	16,000	66,900	83/9	262,000	673,000	51/4
1933 ...	207,000	615,000	59/6	25,400	91,600	72/1	194,000	483,000	49/11
1934 ...	377,000	1,144,000	60/8	24,400	84,300	69/6	141,000	379,000	53/8
1935 ...	501,128 cwts. valued at £1,493,000.						141,000	353,000	

all kinds: bacon imports dropped from 400,800 cwts. in 1931 to 154,000 cwt. in 1932, to 1,149 in 1933, and practically ceased in 1934. All other kinds of pig products ceased to be imported in 1933. The consequence was a large home demand for the Saorstát bacon and hams in 1933—which, combined with the rising export demand, reduced the export of live fat pigs from 216,500 in 1932 to 54,000 in 1933 and 67,800 in 1934. This is seen reflected in the increased number of pigs cured at Saorstát factories: from 700,500 in 1931 it rose to 851,681 in 1933, to 988,000 in 1934 and over 1,000,000 in 1935. Moreover, the export of live fat pigs is rising steadily though naturally still far below the 1931 figure.

There is but one other remark called for by this first sub-

head of Group A : the steady fall in the exports of fresh pork from 360,000 cwts. in 1928 to 141,000 cwts. in 1934 and to 140,500 cwts. in 1935. This may be due both to the special duties and to the greater home demand for pigs for conversion into bacon.

The second sub-heading of this Group A of Class II gives the figures for the exports of " Dead Poultry "—embracing items 48 to 53 inclusive. The value of this export remained remarkably steady from 1924 to 1931 inclusive, round about an average of £675,000 per annum. In 1932 occurred a serious drop in value—from £648,000 (1931) to £512,000 (1932), a fall of £136,000—while an almost identical fall (£126,000) occurred again in 1933 (£386,000). In 1934, however, there was a decided recovery, £430,000 being the value ; but a fall occurred again in 1935 to £377,000—the lowest figure on record.

The most important items of this sub-heading are Turkeys (48), Chickens (51), and Old Fowl (52), with Geese (49) and Ducks (50) playing a lesser role. Our exports of turkeys have tended to oscillate between 50,000 and 60,000 cwts. a year since 1924, with two exceptional years, 1925 and 1926. The value remained reasonably steady at £350,000 to £400,000 till 1932, but the period 1932-1935 saw a decided drop in the value : the price per cwt. falling from 148s. 2d. in 1931 to 74s. 6d. in 1934. Dead poultry was one of the items hit by the Special Duties Act of England : the rate being fixed at 30 per cent. *ad valorem* in April 1933, but changed in November 1933 to 4d. per lb. for turkeys in addition to the general 1d. per lb. tariff. To meet this the Government granted a bounty of 4d. per lb. on exported turkeys and 2d. per lb. on other poultry from November 1932. This was varied slightly later on according to the seasons in which the export took place.

The export of chickens amounted to a steady annual 27,000 cwts. from 1924 to 1931, valued at £150,000 or a little more. In 1932 and 1933 both quantity and value fell sharply : 20,200 cwts. (£101,700) in 1932 and 13,100 cwts. (£51,554) in 1933, but in 1934 a recovery took place, 27,000 cwts. (£94,000).

"Old Fowl" was an item of export normally worth about £100,000 a year: geese brought in some £27,000, and ducks £8,000 to £9,000. The value, quantity, and price of all these fell greatly in 1932 and 1933, but steadied somewhat, at a low level, in 1934.

The export trade in dead poultry, although only worth at its best half-a-million pounds a year, is undoubtedly capable of considerable expansion. Moreover, it has a certain social importance in that it could be used to better the economic position of the small farmer, if only marketing facilities were improved. There is a live poultry trade, also, which has sometimes exceeded an annual value of £200,000. In conjunction with our egg exports these two items, live and dead poultry, make up a very notable part of our total export trade: the hen-roosts and chicken-runs of Saorstát Eireann hold an important place in our balance of trade.

Our export trade in fish forms a not inconsiderable portion of this Group A. Under column (3) Table II will be found the figures for the value of fish exports from 1924 to 1935. The nineteen different items grouped under this sub-heading fall naturally into three divisions: fresh fish, shell fish, and cured or salted fish. The peak-year for An Saorstát's fish exports was 1927, when a total value of £809,000 was reached, a slow climb from £457,000 in 1924. There has, however, been a steady decline in the value and in the quantity since 1927, ending with £270,000 (108,000 cwt.) in 1935.

As regards fresh fish, salmon and trout, herrings, mackerel, and fresh water eels are the most important items. The exports of salmon and trout are normally in the neighbourhood of 20,000 to 25,000 cwts. per annum, valued at £200,000 to £250,000. The years 1929 and 1930 were abnormally low as regards quantity and value—15,000 cwt. and 16,700 cwts., respectively. The fresh herring exports vary greatly from year to year, being 15,000 or 14,000 cwts. in 1927, 1928 and 1931, but only 5,000 cwts. in 1932 and 3,700 cwts. in 1933. The price of herrings has not fallen so noticeably as other items, and so the value of the exports rises and falls evenly with the rise and fall of the quantity. The mackerel exports

have shown a persistent tendency to fall in quantity since their peak year 1926, when 40,800 cwts. were exported: in 1933 only 2,524 cwts. were exported. Moreover, the price

TABLE IV

	Salmon and Trout		Herrings		Mackerel		Fresh Water Eels	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
	Cwts.							
1924 ...	20,527	225,000			21,836	22,000	4,979	15,000
1925 ...	21,797	240,000			24,341	26,000	3,877	14,000
1926 ...	24,510	241,000			40,851	48,000	3,992	13,000
1927 ...	35,592	325,000	15,553	14,000	33,465	43,000	3,493	12,000
1928 ...	23,801	275,000	14,509	11,000	25,450	27,000	3,954	14,000
1929 ...	15,389	202,000	8,843	7,000	16,314	29,000	4,294	14,000
1930 ...	16,720	194,000	7,289	5,000	18,174	29,000	4,398	16,000
1931 ...	24,223	237,000	14,354	10,000	8,334	12,000	4,560	15,000
1932 ...	26,966	247,000	5,026	3,000	6,385	8,000	3,952	12,000
1933 ...	20,156	192,000	3,704	2,000	2,524	3,000	2,569	8,000
1934 ...	25,842	222,000	4,827	3,000	887	1,000	3,871	11,000
1935 ...	24,333	197,000	*	*	*	*	2,915	9,000

has dropped very much: from 36s. per cwt. in 1929 to 22s. 2d. per cwt. in 1933. Consequently, whereas the value of exports in 1926 was £48,400, in 1933 it was only £2,800. Fresh-water

TABLE IV*a*

	Other Fresh Fish		Herrings, Pickles		Mackerel, Pickles	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
1924			23,600	31,900	29,700	58,400
1925			66,500	73,700	68,500	113,800
1926			141,800	151,000	50,900	54,300
1927	3,912	8,000	254,900	241,200	70,100	96,100
1928	4,040	9,000	217,700	243,600	29,000	39,000
1929	3,853	16,000	99,600	109,800	29,400	48,000
1930	7,000	10,000	54,300	54,300	21,600	25,000
1931	5,139	10,000	25,300	27,800	27,400	27,200
1932	6,338	11,000	5,300	5,100	14,000	12,200
1933	2,687	5,000	18,600	17,600	3,400	3,000
1934	1,500	3,500	1,830	1,400	1,422	1,300
1935	*	*	6,600	5,400	7,000	6,200

eels have accounted for about 4,000 cwts. per annum (£15,000) up to 1933, when the exports fell to 2,500 cwts. (£7,500). However, in 1934 the figures show a rise to nearly 4,000 cwts. again, valued at £11,000. The fishing industry in Saorstát Eireann is one of the great problems for the economist and statesman. For such a favourably situated country both as regards sea and inland fishing our export trade in fish is extraordinarily small. In Table IV the main figures for the exports of various kinds of fish will be found. The great misfortunes of the cured fish export trade can be clearly seen.

Under column 4 of Table II will be found the figures for a most important group of items, milk and milk products. There are ten items in all (including, a little illogically, margarine). With regard to fresh milk, we have been steadily losing our market in Northern Ireland since 1932. Up to that year milk to the value of £23,000 was sent into Northern Ireland every year; but in 1934 only £11,000 worth and in 1935 £6,500 worth was taken by Northern Ireland. This is probably due to certain Northern Ireland legislation concerning inspection of dairies, which has given rise to prolonged law suits between a group of East Donegal farmers (whose market used to be Derry) and the Northern Government. The export of condensed milk is holding its own in a very decided way: its peak year was 1929, when 94,000 cwts. (valued at £159,000) were exported. The exports fell then to 59,000 cwts. (£104,000) in 1931, but have risen again to over 100,000 cwts. (£136,000) in the last couple of years. There appears to be only one factory for condensed milk in Saorstát Eireann: Condensed Milk Co. of Ireland (1928) Ltd., Lansdowne, Limerick, though at least three creameries make milk powder, of which there is a tiny export.

The exports of butter fall into three classes: creamery, factory and farmers. In 1927, 1928 and 1929 our total exports of butter were worth £4,550,000 (560,000 cwts.) each year. Then began the fall in price: from £3,277,000 (525,000 cwts.) in 1930 to £1,193,000 (404,000 cwts.) in 1933—the lowest figure on record for value (1932 was the lowest for quantity, only 330,000 cwts). In 1934 there came an improvement in

quantity (508,000 cwts.) but not in value (£1,193,000)—the price, 52s. 4d. per cwt., was the lowest on record—and in 1935 this improvement was maintained, 531,000 cwts. (£1,658,000). The *quantity* now exported is almost as great as in the pre-crisis days, but owing to fall in prices the *value* is only a little more than one-third.

There is a fair export in cheese, which has risen remarkably in 1935, jumping from £1,200 worth in 1933 to £18,000 in 1935. The export of cream is considerable both as regards quantity and value, though in recent years it has shown a definite tendency to decline. In 1931 and previous years 900,000 gallons were exported annually, bringing in between £350,000 and £500,000. In 1935 only 385,000 gallons (£113,000) were exported.

The exports of margarine have also fallen off greatly in the last few years. Before 1931 some 15,000 to 20,000 cwts. (value over £50,000) were exported, but in 1934 only 5,000 cwts. (£8,500) and in 1935 6,600 cwts. (£10,000).

Butter and cream are, of course, hit by the English Special Duties Act. In Table V are given some detailed figures concerning milk and milk products exports

TABLE V

Export of Milk and Milk Products

	Fresh Milk Whole		Condensed and Dried Milk		Butter		Cream		Margarine		Cheese	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
	Gals.	£	Cwts.	£	Cwts.	£	Gals.	£	Cwts.	£		
1924 ...	304,000	26,000	24,000	62,000	457,000	4,000,000	491,000	270,000	59,000	188,000		
1925 ...	229,000	23,000	59,000	132,000	401,000	3,649,000	628,000	355,000	60,000	190,000		
1926 ...	227,000	21,000	82,000	149,000	501,000	3,830,000	644,000	322,000	48,000	153,000		
1927 ...	285,000	24,000	56,000	104,000	586,000	4,574,000	986,000	503,000	16,000	55,000	2,000	8,000
1928 ...	531,000	37,000	96,000	162,000	559,000	4,536,000	932,000	505,000	16,000	59,000	1,000	6,000
1929 ...	427,000	23,000	94,000	169,000	560,000	4,555,000	808,000	416,000	21,000	76,000	1,000	5,000
1930 ...	516,000	23,000	92,000	161,000	525,000	3,277,000	764,000	332,000	19,000	65,000	1,500	5,500
1931 ...	740,000	39,000	62,000	115,000	378,000	2,000,000	894,000	366,000	19,000	56,000	1,500	5,000
1932 ...	426,000	23,000	92,000	124,000	330,000	1,546,000	803,000	314,000	15,000	36,000	307	1,000
1933 ...	331,000	14,000	129,000	140,000	404,000	1,193,000	532,000	134,000	8,000	12,000	609	1,000
1934 ...	226,000	11,000	112,000	140,000	508,000	1,330,000	433,000	105,000	5,000	9,000	4,500	8,500
1935 ...			113,000	125,000	531,000	1,658,000	385,000	113,000	7,000	10,000	9,000	18,000

In the year 1918—undoubtedly, it must be admitted, an altogether abnormal year—the value of the eggs exported from all Ireland (not the Saorstát area) was £15,600,000 : the value of the ships exported from Ireland was £10,000,000. The hen-roosts of Ireland were a source of income £5,500,000 more valuable than the huge shipyards of Belfast working feverishly at high-pressure all that year. And all during the war the value of the exports of eggs equalled or surpassed that of ships.

Under column (5) of Table II are given the figures for the exports of eggs from Saorstát Eireann for the last ten or twelve years. In 1924 the value was £3,000,000—a fair figure when we remember that in 1915 the export from all Ireland was only valued at £5,000,000. The quantity exported in 1924 was 4,273,000 gt. hd. compared with 7,600,000 gt. hd. from all Ireland in 1915. From 1924 on the quantity of eggs exported increased steadily till 1928, when a "peak" of 5,000,000 gt. hd. (£3,120,000) was reached. There was a slow fall in the quantity then till 1931, after which a very decided drop took place, reaching 3,500,000 gt. hd. in 1934, valued at £1,000,000. The average price of all classes of eggs was 13s. 5d. per gt. hd. in 1929 (the peak year in value, though not in quantity) ; in 1933 the price was 6s. 3d. per gt. hd. The price at Saorstát markets for eggs is given as 8s. 4d. per gt. hd. in 1933, a considerably higher price than the export price. In pre-war days, 1911-1913, the price of eggs averaged 9s. 3d. per gt. hd.

It is of interest and importance to note that the fall in the value of exports from the Saorstát's hen-runs—*i.e.*, poultry and eggs—was £3,000,000 in four or five years : from nearly £4,000,000 in 1929 to £995,000 in 1935. The fall in quantity exported has not been so great, but nevertheless it amounts to a fall of between 35 per cent. and 40 per cent. Our poultry and egg industry is one of the really big wealth-producing industries—probably the third or fourth biggest that we have. We shall have to examine it later on from the point of view of production : at present we are concerned only with its export side. The egg trade has also been hit by the English

Special Duties Act: an import duty of 30 per cent. *ad valorem* being levied on eggs since 1932. The Saorstát Government pays a bounty ranging from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per gt. hd. on exported eggs.

Under the heading "Fats and Oils, refined, edible," the *Trade and Shipping Statistics* group three items: "lard," "lard imitations," and "other sorts"—Nos. 92-94. For a number of years (1924-1930) these three items together remained steady at an export value of around £200,000. In 1931 began a fall in value lasting right up to 1934, when the total value was only £76,000. This has been chiefly due to a fall in price, for the quantities of both lard and lard imitations have either increased or remained steady. In 1935 there has been a decided rise in the quantity and especially in the value of these three items—58,000 cwts. (£122,000). The export price of lard fell from 64s. 10d. per cwt. in 1930 to 34s. 6d. in 1934. From 1926 on there has been a notable increase in the quantity of lard imitations exported—from 5,000 cwt. in 1925 to 27,000 in 1933. In the last four years there has been an equally striking fall in the quantities of "other sorts" (of Fats and Oils) exported—from 16,600 cwts. in 1930 to a bare 350 cwts. in 1934.

For the purposes of the Census of Production, lard is included under "pig products." We find that in 1926 a quantity of 39,244 cwts. (£157,588) was produced in Saorstát Eireann, in which year 31,000 cwts. (£124,000) were exported. In 1929 the production had risen to 48,000 cwts. (£152,600—a big drop in value), of which 34,000 cwts. (£113,000) were exported. In 1931 the production had fallen to 37,374 cwts. (£98,000), of which 29,000 cwts. (£79,700) were exported. The production, however, rose in 1933 to 45,700 cwts. (£90,000), the export that year being 27,000 cwts. (£57,000). There are four firms (apart from the bacon factories) engaged in the manufacture of lard compounds (margarine, etc.): two in Cork, one in Newtownforbes (Longford), one in Waterford. There are some thirty-nine bacon factories (including Messrs. Lyons of Newtownforbes) in the Saorstát. It will be noticed that a very considerable proportion of the lard manufactured

in the Saorstát is exported—perhaps 70 per cent. or more, It may be presumed that an increase in bacon curing, etc., will produce an increase in the production of lard, with a larger export trade in it as the result. But this sub-heading really belongs to sub-heading (1) " pig-products," and will have to be examined with the whole question of the pig industry and trade.

There is a final sub-heading (7) of this Group A which can be disposed of in a few words. It embraces a large number of very varied items of " Food Stuffs of Animal Origin," the total export value of which amounted to £108,000 in 1932, though it was £636,000 in 1928. It would be useless and confusing to try to analyse in detail the rise or fall in the quantity or value of the individual items which compose this miscellaneous sub-heading. In 1928 (the year when this sub-heading reached its highest value) there was included in it a sum of £375,000 for " Fresh Meat " exported : £253,000 worth of fresh beef and veal, £15,000 of mutton, and £100,000 of lamb. In 1932 (the year of lowest value for this sub-heading), this item of fresh meat had fallen to £44,000 : £12,500 beef, £1,700 mutton, and £30,000 lamb. In 1933 the value rose again to £177,000, of which beef accounted for £68,000 and lamb £117,000. This trade in fresh meat began to assume important dimensions in 1927, and has shown a distinct tendency to grow. In 1934 and 1935, however, the export of fresh beef seems to have disappeared, but that of mutton and lamb is again on the up-grade (£41,000 in 1934 and £157,000—a huge rise—in 1935). The other items of this sub-heading call for no comment in a survey such as the present.

Edward J. Coyne

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXXIX

CHRIST'S DEATH

1. Duaine ná beatha bár Dé
a ṡrár as leatha gach laoi
guin a cíge gér cár hé
ré line ar a bár do baoi.

2. Ir é a bár ar beatha dúinn
mar lán as leatha fa cíl
téid a chéad i n-aoinfeacht uaid
dá éag fuair ar ndraoidheacht dinn.

3. Ní bár 'n-a foltaib féin fuair
an octguin ní hé do thúir
do guin an chroide coir cáig
do báid roin an oile i n-úir.

4. Téid d'éag ir do éirig rlán
ón éigrin gan chéacht ar gcúl
gar beatha do bár an Rioġ
dá fiol mar fár eatha a núr.

5. Dia Domnaig as dul 'n-ar gceann
gé dorchuir i gcroic dar gcionn
dar leat nir leon bair ná donn
gur feol a-nonn ar air ionn.

6. Tug eitil i gcoinne cáig
gan leigir troigig ná taoid
nir leat tárg t'eidir ón uaig
[go] bruair deimin gráid a gaoil.

7. Cat ar tóir mbiodbad gur bhir
iongnad mór nachar mór lair
bior 'n-a throigid bior 'n-a boir
cion re coir t'oidir ar air.

8. Dá mbeaḋ gan goin troigiḃ ḟinn
gan ċroiḋe do lot gan láiṁ
ar ċaoi an óg 'r a hoiḋre i n-uaiġ
naċ lór uainn do ċoiṁġe cáiġ.

9. Ioc a ċneaḋ már é do b'ál
ní ḋíol mé ar a mear go raor
cá hioc buḋ breaċ i mbár rioġ
dá mbeaċ gur ḋíol grár a ġaol.

10. Cá héiric ann naċ ioc uainn
ḋámaḋ éiḋir ioc i ríġ
ar mbuain a hoiḋir don óiġ
doiġir bróin do-ċuaiḋ 'n-a cíġ.

11. Ḃeiṫ [don] óiġ aġ lorg do lot
nó ḃeiṫ re cóir gan gcrann mbrioc
mar buḋ eaḋ gomaḋ ál lat
a fear 'r a mac do ráḋ riot.

12. Ḃaoġal duit dá n-agra an óiġ
gin go dtiġ tagra re ríġ
rioċd déar na hóiġe ar an uaiġ
do ḃuain ḟréaṁ do ċóire [ó a] ċíġ.

13. Ar raorad doḋ ġuin-re ó ġuair
baoġal naċ ḟuiġe acd 'n-a fír
mo ċroiḋe ní ḟuiġḃe d'áir
dá ḃruilnge an ḃáir roiṁe a-ríṙ.

14. Saoḃ fleaḋ naċ féaḋṫar do ḋíol
'r naċ géaḋṫar an fleaḋ gan lóġ
ní hairgíḋ len ngeaḋ do ġníoṁ
do fleaḋ ríoġ i n-airgíḋ d'ól.

15. Ar gcur ṁ'anma ar ṁ'ionċuiḃ féin
iongnaḋ naċ aṁlaiḋ buḋ cóir
do ḟaoil ċ'eiḋir uaim ar ríḋ
bíḋ uair naċ deiṁin an ḋóiġ.

16. Iomḋa ro ċáille aġ teaċt im luing
ceart bioḃḃaiḋ do ráḋa rinn
cion do ḟárraiġ cionta an ċroinn
iompa do ċoill Ádaiṁ inn.

17. Nír í a meanma deaṙaḋ dúnn
dá ngealla nach geaḃa ar lám
ó ar mbráthair ní ḃia gan lóg
óg ir máthair ṙia dá ráḋ.

18. Muna ḃfuil ceart ag óig air
a neart tar an gcóir do chuir
már lé thian toige ar a toil
ní ḃiam i dtoig Moire a-muig.

19. An anóir do geiḃe dá gaol
anóir nach leigthe fa lár
ó tá gur ḋíol uirre an óg
ir mór buime ríog re ráḋ.

20. Maith chreidim a theacht dá thaoiḃ
[ó] ceart gin go ndligim dóig
ní leigfe a grár a gaol uaiḋ
an chaor ḃuaiḋ do fár ón óig.

21. Gan déanamh grár ní geiḃ rí
áraiḋ rin 'r a héanmhac é
munab óg mar gach óig hí
an cóir a rí ní lór lé.

22. [A raor] rin don uile ir riu
gaol do buime do ḃeith rú
ceart ar óig dá n-agra Dia
cia dar cóir ar dtagra ach tú.

23. Tu do ḋorchuig roth na rann
tú thorchuir i gcroich dar gcionn
tú tug a ḋearca don doll
'r rug a-nonn ar eachtra ionn.

24. Tú dar n-éir-ne io ḃeathaiḋ ḃiar
tú mhaireas ir méarar fór
gid nuaiḋe a-nú neart do grár
tú do fár re dteach ar dtór.

25. Tú réadla oireagḋa an eoil
tú ar n-éargna roineanta ríḋ
tú ar ciall a n-ar chan an fáiḋ
ní náir dam do riar mar rig.

26. Tú an bár ir an beaċa nua
ir tú ċeardoa 'r a-tá beo
tú fa fí ful fuġaḋ ḋí
tú tuġaḋ i ġclí ġan ċeo.

27. Táimiġ ḋíot ġá ġloine ġréar
an fíon táille an toiġe tuar
buaine ná beaċa ḋo bár
fár ġo nuaiḋe feaċa fuar.

28. Ní beaċa ġan bfión 'n-a ḋiaiḋ
ġlóir a tearbaiġ ḋon té fuair
ní aiṫneam naċ eaċair bfóin
ġlóir aiṫġeirr ar beaṫaiḋ buain.

Buaine.

Translation

1. More enduring than life was God's death, grace flowing forth from it every day; on His death,—sad as was His breast-wound—the fate of the Six Generations hung.

2. His death means our life; from it come all His flock as a full tide spreading over all the land; by His death He removed the spell upon us.

3. Not for His own sins did He die; 'twas not He who deserved the breast-wound; the world's sin wounded His heart; the great memorial-stone destroyed it (sin).

4. He died and rose again, His wounds cured, from death; close on His death followed, as corn rising from earth, life for His race.

5. Though He died for us on the Cross, one would think it had not maimed His hand or foot when He returned to us on Sunday and brought us away with Him.

7. Wondrous—though He thought little of it!—was the trophy brought home by Thy Son, the nail which stayed in His foot and hand till He had defeated the horde of His foes.

6. He flew back into our world, not waiting for cure of foot or side; only when He had made certain of His race's pardon did Thy Son send forth His proclamation from the Tomb.

8. Even had He not borne the wounds in foot and hand and heart for us, do we not think the Virgin's tears over her Son in the grave enough to save the world?

9. Were I to try to atone for His wounds, putting them at their cheapest, I could not do so; were His race thought worth pardon, what price should be exacted from it for the death of the Lord?

10. Were it possible to pay any *éiric* for the Lord, is there any which could not be demanded from us for it? When her Son was taken from the Virgin, a fierce flame of grief pierced her breast.

11. That the Virgin should follow Thy Passion was the same as placing her for justice' sake on the red Cross, as though Thou didst wish to be recognised as truly her Spouse and Son.

12. When, unable to defend thyself against the Lord, thou appealest to the Virgin, the danger for thee is that the sight of her tears over the Tomb may uproot from His heart His whole motive for paying thy debt.

13. I fear lest it may be only in vain dream that Thou canst save me by Thy wounds from ruin ; Thou shalt not win a willing love from me, and hence Thou shalt suffer Thy Passion over again.

14. Foolish (in lavishness) and beyond price is the banquet (of Salvation), though it shall not be got by thee, (O man), without thy giving something in return ; to enjoy the royal banquet without payment is a favour which thy conduct permits not.

15. When Thy Son had given my soul into my own hands (by redeeming it), He expected—surely reasonably !—a peace-making ; yet there are moments when this expectation seems uncertain.

16. Many a sin greater than the sins of the Tree dost Thou count as they board my ship ; rightly am I called Thy foe ; I am a true branch of Adam's wood.

17. To reject me was never my Brother's wish ; when He promises His gift, shall not my hand receive it ? Mary's being called Virgin and Mother shall not be without its effect.

18. If the Virgin has no rights as against Him, He has made her power greater than any rights ; if she can command one of the Three in the Palace I, when with her, shall not be left outside.

19. Thou, O man, shouldst make good use of the honour thou gettest from being akin to her ; as Mary deserves to be called Virgin the greater glory is her title of Mother of God.

20. Though I have little right to entertain the hope, yet my hope is firm that the kinsfolk of the Virgin's wondrous offspring will yet come to Him ; His indulgence will not let them be lost to Him.

21. To a refusal of (our) pardon she objects ; that objection and her only Son (supporting her in it) makes the refusal impossible ; as she is a Virgin like to none other, she will not, O Lord, be satisfied with mere justice.

22. Full worthy of Thy mother's love is that number of men whom it saves ; if God, in opposition to the Virgin, claim full justice who could defend us but Thou (her Son) ?

23. Thou didst die on the Cross for us, darkening the starry sphere ; Thou gavest back sight to the " Dall " ; Thou didst carry us off in triumph.

24. When we shall have died Thou shalt live on ; Thou livest now and for ever ; though the power of Thy grace is still fresh, Thou art from of old before coming on earth.

25. Thou art the splendid star of guidance, our bright moon of peace ; Thou art the fulfillment of the Prophet's words ; 'tis a glory for me to serve Thee as King.

26. Thou art death and yet new life ; Thou didst die and yet livest ; Thou wert Lord before Thy birth and wert conceived in pure womb.

27. Thou gavest us—wondrous device !—the wine that gives entry to the Palace ; Thy death extends out beyond life and renews its growth in Heaven beyond the grave.

28. He who has enjoyed the glory of the world's excitement shall have a life full of sorrow thereafter ; passing glory chosen instead of eternal life is, I know well, good cause of sorrow.

NOTES

[MS. : H 3 19 p. 31] Poem is anonymous. Readings given below are those departed from.

3*c* cɲ. aʒ co. 6*b* tɾoiġiṫ *c* uaiṫ *d* do 7*a* mbioṫbaiṫ 8*a* tɾoiġiṫ *c* ho. a uaiṫ 9*a* báil 10*b* íoc a ɲíoʒ *d* cíoʒ 11*a* aɲ *b* no < ono ? 12*a* oʒ *c* uaiṫ *d* c. a cíoʒ 13*b* ɸuiṫi *c* ɸuiṫiṫi 14*b* an leaṫ 16*a* or a otáille " their number " ? *c* ɟáɲuiṫ *d* iompa *cf* Tadhg Dall 9. 5 ; IGT § 2 ; *Irish Monthly*, 1930, p. 357, *v* 11 17*d* níɲ hí ; ṫúinn 18*b* taɲ a ʒc. 19*b* liġċi 20*a* t. toá t. *b* a 22*a* aɲ ɟaoɲ. 23*d* ino 24*a* beaċa *c* ʒé 26*a* iɲ a b. 27*a* ca ʒl. *b* a ɸíon. 28*d* an b. b.

REVIEWS

Religion

LE SENS DU MYSTERE et le Clair-Obscur Intellectuel. Par le R. P. Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1934. 20 fr. Pp. 343.

THIS is a remarkable book, perhaps the most remarkable of its author's works in French. It treats of the things that are obscure to our minds, either because they are situated near the lower boundary of the intelligible (for instance, " materia prima," a real but formless capacity, or again "ideas" embedded in matter, such as the difference between two vegetable or mineral species, or between two individual men) or because they are above the normal reach of our intellect. The things of the latter category, with which most of the book deals, are, in an ascending scale, our minds as they are in their own proper nature, the spiritual world in general, the whole order of grace and God's dealings with men, the Beatific Vision, God as He is in Himself.

Though it is a synthesis of obscurities, the book is never obscure, or even dull. Père Garrigou-Lagrange paints with a rapid and vigorous brush on a large canvas. He also (to change the metaphor) mightily belabours his opponents. These, as readers of his other works will expect, are " the nominalists and their modern successors "—unhappy men who get hold of the wrong end of every stick, until our author, for their own good, plies them with the right end of it. In one of his books, indeed, he decided in the interest of charity not to indicate their identity. But such a self-denying ordinance could hardly be kept up for long, and was of little use in any case with a generation brought up on detective stories and crossword puzzles. . . (Members of a Society famous, like Ulysses of old, for all kinds of wiles—7 letters).

Père Garrigou-Lagrange is (in the good sense of the word) one of the most provocative of writers. There is hardly a paragraph in this work that does not challenge thought, discussion, sometimes contradiction. To take one example out of very many, consider his brief treatment of probability (p. 140). If of two contradictory opinions A and B, A is certainly more probable than B, then, as he rightly points out, B ceases to be probable. For a probable opinion is by definition one that you may reasonably hold to be true ; and it does not seem reasonable to hold B to be true (even hesitatingly), while you admit that it is more likely to be false. You *could* reasonably decide in favour of A. But Fr. Garrigou-Lagrange seems to hold that you *ought to* decide in favour of A : whereas there is no need to come down on either side. The relative weakness of the reasons for B does not make A certain ; the issue remains doubtful, which is all that the probabilists require. *Lex dubia . . .*

For instance, one could imagine a student of the controversy *De*

Auxiliis (which, needless to say, figures largely in the present work) deciding, say, that the followers of Fr. Banez had the stronger case. But in spite of that, he could quite reasonably imitate the Catholic Church, which after considering the question with care for some centuries, leaves it open.

On this particular controversy there is a word of deep wisdom in this book. After quoting St. Prosper—"If some are saved, it is the bounty of the Saviour; if others are lost, it is their own fault"—our author goes on to say that to reconcile these two truths, as they are reconciled in the mind of God, is beyond the reach of any created intellect, human or angelic, that has not been transformed by the Beatific Vision.

If the theologians could only leave it there! But even Père Garrigou-Lagrange himself cannot resign himself to that.

Vigorously as many of his readers may dissent from some of his views, they will be at one, I think, in thanking him for this splendidly vivid and stimulating presentation of Thomist doctrine in one of its aspects. M. F. E.

THE REFORMATION, THE MASS, AND THE PRIESTHOOD. By Ernest C. Messenger. A Documented History with Special Reference to Anglican Orders. London: Longmans. 1936. 18s. net.

THE present work, Dr. Messenger tells us, arose out of a desire to set forth a reasoned account of why the Catholic Church refuses to allow that Anglican clergy have the powers of the Catholic priesthood. The chief ground for the rejection of the validity of Anglican Orders is the insufficiency of the forms for the ordination in the new ordinal introduced by Cranmer and his coadjutors. The authors of that ordinal held a conception of the Christian ministry radically different from the Catholic conception—and radically different especially in this that they rejected the idea of a sacrificing priesthood. This, of course, followed on their rejection of the sacrifice of the Mass. Since the Catholic rites of ordination signified in many ways the power of consecrating the Eucharist, and thereby offering sacrifice—a power which is the essence of the Christian priesthood—these innovators changed and corrupted them with the express purpose of excluding every thing that would signify those powers; and they framed their new rites in such a way as to make them express the Protestant idea of the Ministry. Thereby destroying the essential signification of the rite of ordination, they made their new rites invalid. They wished to exclude from their new church the Catholic priesthood and to introduce in its place a ministry of the Protestant type—and they succeeded only too well in their design.

To demonstrate this essentially Protestant character of the new Anglican ordinal is the main purpose of this first volume of Dr. Messenger's work. It contains four parts. The first, which is by way of introduction, gives a comparatively rapid and summary survey of the doctrines of the Eucharist, the Mass, the Priesthood, and the sacrament of Orders in Scripture, the Fathers, and mediæval theology down to the Reformation ; and of the Eucharistic and ordination rites in which they were enshrined. This part has naturally and inevitably some of the defects of a summary. To deal adequately with such a range of subjects in one hundred pages is evidently impossible. The Scriptural and Patristic arguments are rather indicated than developed. Of more importance for the author's main subject would be a fuller treatment of the theology of Orders in the Middle Ages, discussed in Ch. 9—especially the two points : the relation of the episcopate to the priesthood and the matter of the sacrament of Orders.

In regard to the first point, it seems scarcely sufficient to say that " the Scholastics regarded the episcopate as a divinely *or, at least, apostolically instituted rank* " (p. 74). St. Thomas (in *Supplementum*, q. 38, a 1, ad 3) teaches that the Pope cannot delegate a priest to confer major orders. Surely this implies that the bishop is *jure divino* superior to the priest *potestate ordinis ?* Again on the same page Dr. Messenger, dealing with the teaching of *Supplementum*, q. 40, a. 4 and 5, summarizes a. 5 thus : " In article 5 he elaborates this notion, that a bishop is superior to a priest in this matter of jurisdiction over the mystical body." A closer reading of the article, especially of the objections and answers to them, will show that St. Thomas teaches here a superiority not only of jurisdiction but also " potestatis ordinis " ; indeed I think that in this article St. Thomas is not thinking of jurisdiction at all, but only of the episcopal power of confirming and ordaining. I would summarize the doctrine of the article thus : No one who is not already a priest can be made a bishop (sed contra) ; in his " promotion " the bishop receives the power of administering certain sacraments—Orders and Confirmation (ad 2) ; this power is a power of order, not of jurisdiction (ad 3) ; this power is not accompanied by a new character, because not directly concerned with the administration of the Eucharist (ad 2 and C.) ; and consequently the episcopate is not a sacrament.

It seems clear that St. Thomas did not consider the rite of episcopal consecration to be a sacrament. His conception of its nature remains somewhat obscure ; but some light is shed on the subject by a few lines in the opusculum *De Perfectione Vitae Spiritualis*, C. 16, in fine (Ed. Mandonnet, p. 232). There he describes it as " a certain solemnity and benediction " (understanding by " solemnity," as appears from the context, an external solemn ceremony), and he compares it to the

" solemnity " (external) which accompanies solemn religious profession. To understand the full meaning of this, however, it is necessary to remember St. Thomas's now abandoned doctrine as to the nature of the solemnity of religious vows—from which, according to him, not even the Pope can dispense (2a 2ae, q. 88, a. 7 and 11). Similarly a bishop once consecrated cannot lose the power of order given in his consecration. All this shows the absurdity of those Anglicans who attributed " presbyterianism " to those Scholastics who held that the episcopate was not a sacrament.

Part II traces the new doctrines on the Eucharist, the Priesthood, and Orders put forward by the continental reformers and the consequent liturgical changes. Parts III and IV deal with the English reformation under Henry VIII and Edward VI. The treatment is admirably full and thorough ; the author makes full use of the work of others who have laboured in this field before him, and adds much of his own. The result is to bring out with great clearness and with cumulative force the essential oneness in aims and inspiration of the English and Continental reformations ; the essentially Protestant character of the English reformation and of the English ordinal. It will be difficult for any open-minded Anglican who reads this book to bring forward again such arguments for the " Catholicity " of Anglicanism as the retention of the three orders of bishop, priest and deacon ; the " sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," which they claim that Anglican doctrine admits ; or the supposed distinction between " sacrifices of Masses " and " the sacrifice of the Mass." We look forward with eagerness to Dr. Messenger's second volume, in which he proposes to continue the history through the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth and down to modern times, concluding with a treatment of the theological aspect of the question, and we expect that the two volumes will give us the fullest and best documented treatment of the whole question we as yet possess.

P. O'DEA

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE DOGMATICAE. Auctore Ludovico Lercher, S.J. 4 vols. 2nd ed. Innsbruck : Rauch. 1934–1935. Pp. 2588. 32 RM.

ALPHA ET OMEGA. Theses quaedam selectae de Deo Uno et Trino, Creante et Elevante et de Novissimis. By John Moran, S.J. Worcester (Mass.) : Harrigan Press. 1935. Pp. 179. $2.

ALTHOUGH the schools will always need works of erudition and scientific investigation, a well composed, up-to-date theological treatise is, and always will be, indispensable for the student, the priest on the mission and even for the specialist. The qualities demanded in such a manual are exacting. It should not merely refer the student to arguments from Scripture and tradition, but should show him how such arguments

are set out and sustained. There should be accurate and easy references to enable the reader to check the text and explore the context. Besides the *massif* of traditional doctrine, which is the substance of all such manuals, a good text-book should make available the latest results of specialised theological inquiry. We do not of course expect the author to solve all the objections for us ; but we always welcome a careful selection of the classical difficulties wherein the other side gets a fair hearing and a fair answer. Finally there is the question of size : a good text book should not be compressed to the limits of a reference book nor expanded to the dimensions of a mediaeval summa. Fr. Lercher's manual conforms as closely to these specifications as any we know, and it is the best text-book of our acquaintance for the immediate purpose in view—*in usum scholarum*. It is well printed ; divisions of the text, salient points of exposition and subsidiary matter are brought out by changes in type. There is a fair index ; that there is not a fuller one is the only flaw we have noted in these four admirable volumes.

Father Moran's manual is more restricted in scope and method. He has deliberately omitted any systematic treatment of questions in dispute among Catholics in order to concentrate on the apologetico-dogmatic aspect of the important theses selected by him. He has manifestly been at great pains to set out his theses in the most assimilable form—clear divisions, careful definitions of terms, syllogistic argument, and a solution of the main difficulties at the end. The treatment is practical and really helpful. The Scripture argument is developed and provided with a commentary where the sense is difficult ; but the author is conciseness itself where the argument is clear. The patristic proof is hardly touched on : instead the author refers the student to the relevant texts in Rouët de Journel's *Enchiridion*. We frankly admit that it is not easy to summarise the movement of patristic thought in every these : the problem being to find a mean between the method of excessive simplification and that of lengthy quotation and elaborate analysis. On the whole we should prefer limited success in the presentation of this argument to its complete exclusion. The book is well printed and has useful indices. D. S. N.

THE LIFE THAT IS LIGHT. By the Most Reverend Alban Goodier, Archbishop of Hierapolis. 3 vols. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1935. 5s. each volume.

The nature and contents of this work cannot be better described than in the author's own words. It consists of " reflexions written at different times and in many different circumstances . . . . the fruit of many retreats given to priests and religious during thirty years . . . . . thoughts deepened, crystallised, made more real and significant, given their right value, set in their right order . . ." They are set

before the reader as the makings, so to speak, of prayer, aids towards the goal of prayer—which, says Archbishop Goodier, "is intimacy between the soul and God." That attained, this scaffolding or framework may be discarded.

The work is planned in three parts, to each part a volume, labelled respectively the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive way, and corresponding roughly to the "weeks" of the Spiritual Exercises—Volume III containing the last two weeks. But the author does not by any means confine himself to the subjects expressly dealt with in the Exercises. There are about 380 sections or subjects of meditation, most of them printed in short lines like verse and often expressed in the form of actual prayer. Readers of the author's devotional booklets —*Points for Meditation, Some Hints on Prayer*, etc.,—will be quite familiar with the method.

We might well be deeply grateful to Archbishop Goodier for having thus poured out his treasures and placed them within the reach of all and sundry. S. J. B.

RADIATING CHRIST. An Appeal to Militant Catholics. From the French of Raoul Plus, S.J. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1936. 2s. 6d.

THIS little book is a treatise, excellent of its kind and complete within its compass, on the apostolate, that is to say, on the qualities called for in one, be he priest or layman, who not only endeavours to live the Christian life himself but sets himself to help others to live it. Father Plus, well-known as the writer of many other popular spiritual works, bases this treatise on the principle that, as the Christian ought to be as far as in him lies another Christ, the apostle ought so to identify himself with our Lord as actually to radiate Christ as the sun radiates light and heat. And as, in the Creed, the life of Christ is summed up in the four phrases—"He descended from Heaven," "He became incarnate," "suffered," and "was buried," there must be found in the apostle something corresponding to each of these—a descent, an incarnation, suffering, burial. The idea, though perhaps somewhat artificial in its conception, is effectively and practically worked out.

The translation is well done. But a little revision would modify certain too literally (or at times faultily) translated expressions.

S. J. B.

Biography

LA JEUNESSE D'ORIGENE. Par René Cadiou. Paris: Beauchesne. 1935. 38 fr.

THIS work makes a considerable contribution to the study of Origen, for which so much has been done in recent years. M. Cadiou, who is a lecturer at the Institut Catholique, has already written a useful brief

introduction to the subject with one aspect of which he here deals in detail. Confining himself to the period of Origen's successful teaching at Alexandria, which came to an end with his condemnation and exile about the year 230, he gives us a close and in many respects a new critical survey of the whole work of the Alexandrian school.

As is remarked in the introduction to this book, the influence of Origen on subsequent thought can only be compared for its importance with that of St. Augustine or St. Thomas. Unlike his master St. Clement, Origen was the son of a Christian father, who was martyred in the persecution of Septimius Severus. To his fervently Christian up-bringing he united the burning zeal of an Egyptian. Taking up from St. Clement the task of expounding Christianity in terms of Greek philosophy, he became the founder of scientific theology, and in spite of his rashness in theorising his work was the intellectual background for the great Eastern Fathers of the third and fourth centuries. A pupil of the obscure Christian porter Ammonius Saccas, who through Plotinus was the inspirer of the neo-Platonic philosophy, Origen erected on a Christian basis a more solid system which survived the sometimes just criticism of his co-religionists and the attacks of Porphyry, and ultimately issued in the Christian Platonism of St. Augustine.

Besides all this, Origen was also the founder of scientific biblical study, whose influence on the text of the Septuagint was very great. M. Cadiou devotes a section to this aspect of his work, his study of Hebrew and his expansion of the allegorical interpretation which was inherited from Philo and to which he brought a reinforcement from Plato's myths. In his view of the latter he was in agreement with the most recent scholarship of to-day, and this fact alone is enough to indicate his power. M. Cadiou's most interesting and original chapters are those in his third part, where he goes closely into the relations of Origen both with Ammonius Saccas and with Plotinus, establishes his claim as an independent witness to the authenticity of the doctrines attributed to Ammonius by Hierocles and Nemesius in the fifth century, and demonstrates the error of the hypothesis, ancient in origin but held by many moderns, of a "pagan Origen." These chapters constitute a very valuable study of early neo-Platonism, and reinforce Origen's claim to rank as a philosopher side by side with Plotinus himself.

In addition to this subtle and penetrating research, M. Cadiou gives us also a close analysis of the theological and philosophical works of Origen during his Alexandrian period. These include great commentaries on the Psalms and Lamentations, a treatise on the Resurrection, the *De Principiis*, which was his crowning contribution to Christian philosophy and which laid him open to grave misunderstanding by the temerity of its speculation, and finally the huge commentary on the Prologue to St. John's Gospel, the composition of

which was so tragically interrupted by his exile. In view of the difficulty of this analysis, which is illustrated by the fact that the *De Principiis* survives for the most part only in the inadequate Latin version of St. Jerome's enemy Rufinus, it must be said that M. Cadiou has done great service to all students of Origen and of early Church history. These are only some of the most interesting parts of a very learned, methodical, and extremely well-written book. M. T.

LE CHANCELIER ANTOINE DUPRAT. Par Albert Buisson. Paris : Hachette. 1935. 35 francs.

UN FRERE DE RICHELIEU INCONNU. Par Maximin Deloche. Paris : Desclée De Brower. 1935. 28 francs.

THESE two books are good examples of a style of biographical writing which, somewhat unfashionable perhaps at the moment, has much to recommend it. Content to treat its subjects objectively, it gives its readers some opportunity of knowing them as they actually were and as they appeared to their contemporaries. The new way prefers to discuss them as illustrations of a psychological thesis—no doubt a way that is more interesting as a literary exercise. Still it lends itself too easily to the attribution of motives which, however well they may suit the writer's thesis, are apt to distort and falsify the portrait ; and this is a defect in a biography which even the brilliance of a Strachey, perhaps the most successful exponent of the new way, cannot redeem.

M. Buisson's life of Cardinal Duprat is a plain and painstaking narrative of the man's life set against the background of the events in which he was concerned. These events are full of importance for the student of the political and religious life of that age of crisis and change, not in France alone but in the whole of Europe. The reader's estimate of the man will be determined by his view of the policies of which he was the agent, and it is because of his expositions of those policies that M. Buisson's study of the man is valuable.

It must be said that Duprat is not a very attractive character as a man. Living in the full current of Renaissance France, he seems to have been almost untouched by any of its influences which give a certain charm to many men of that age, who were far his inferiors in point of moral worth or public importance. There was a stodginess about his character which, however important in fitting him for the work he had to perform, does not show him in a winning light. And perhaps it is because of this heaviness in the man's make up that there is a certain lack of lightness in this biographical study.

The age of Francis I was an important one in the development of French institutions. In this work Duprat was a major agent, so much so indeed that M. Gabriel Hanotaux has described him as one of the most important figures in the France of the old régime. M. Buisson

traces in painstaking detail his rise to power and his activities as a shaper of French royal absolutism—activities which often remind the reader of his greater successor, Richelieu, in the same policy.

In the spheres of diplomacy and public finance Duprat was one of the foremost Frenchmen of his time. His career as a diplomatist makes somewhat dreary reading. The fault, however, is not his biographer's, for it is hard to invest with any real interest the unprincipled web of ever shifting intrigue which makes up the public policy of Europe in that age. Duprat was not brilliant in the sense that his rival Wolsey was brilliant, but it can be said of him that he had the gifts which enabled him to maintain his power in a time when disgrace was the usual fate of the agents of royal power in the diplomatic sphere. As to his ideas on public finance, they were those of his time. His task in providing for the wants of his Government was made exceedingly difficult by the foolish and extravagant foreign policy to which Francis I had devoted himself. In carrying it out Duprat did not shrink from means that often were harsh or even unjust. He thereby set many against him, and not unnaturally he appears before posterity with something of the ill-repute that belongs to the publicani of every age.

M. Buisson's book will be valued more by the specialist student of history than by the general reader, and from this point of view it may be judged as a sound and well-balanced study of the life of a man of affairs in reference to the great public problems of his age ; for it is as a great figure in secular life, not as a Churchman, that Duprat, despite his great ecclesiastical rank, merits attention to-day.

The man whom M. Deloche describes as an " unknown brother " of the great Cardinal Richelieu was, like Duprat, a Cardinal and in some sort a statesman—at least by avocation if not by vocation. The writer's object is to make known one who has, he holds, rights of his own to something other than the oblivion to which history has consigned him. Whether or not this is so the reader will have to judge for himself. It will seem to many that his strongest claim to public fame lies in his relationship to his younger brother, to whom he owed both his rank in the Church and his participation in public affairs.

His family had destined this " unknown brother " for the Knights of Malta. One thinks he was wise in choosing in preference the life of the cloister, for which he seems to have had a natural vocation in the highest sense of the word. Whether or not the Grande-Chartreuse was the type of cloister best suited to one of his temperamental idiosyncrasy is another question. His gifts were certainly not those which fit a man for the world, as seems clear from his career when he left the monastic cell at the instance of his brother—whether that instance was motived by the Cardinal's concern for his own public interests or by fraternal affection does not matter.

At any rate the great career on which he now entered was one which called for other qualities of character than he possessed. As a priest he was a model in his personal life, and in all the purely ecclesiastical aspects of his prelatical career he was worthy of the highest admiration ; but one cannot help feeling that in the other aspects of that career, inevitable in the French Church of that time, he was as one thrust into a position for which he was not fitted, not indeed through any lack of intellectual quality—for in this as in other qualities he had a good deal of the Richelieu stuff in him—but rather through a temperamental quality that was not lessened by his monastic experiences.

If the book is on the whole a study of a career manqué, it has a fascinating quality as a study of a man of unusual human quality, a man who might easily have become a saint, and whose life is marked by the simplicity of character often found in the great saints. Apart from his relationship to the great Cardinal, the Richelieu who was Archbishop first of Aix-en-Provence and then of Lyon, Cardinal Primate of France and Ambassador of France at the Court of the Holy See, may have little interest for the reader of to-day, but he will always have interest for those who like to investigate the by-ways of human personality, and for such readers this book will afford much pleasure and profit.

W. J. W.

LORD PALMERSTON. By H. C. F. Bell. 2 vols. London : Longmans. 1936. 42s. net.

THE subject of this massive biography has had to wait a long time to have done for him what Monypenny and Buckle did for Disraeli or Morley for Gladstone. In the meanwhile, writers like Lytton Strachey and André Maurois have transformed the biographical art, and accustomed the public to a briefer, more pungent treatment of great men, in the course of which the subject has often seemed more like a victim than a hero. It is odd that Palmerston, who all his long life (he was born before the United States Constitution was enacted, and outlived the Civil War) had very little use for Americans, should at last be the subject of an American *apologia*. Professor Bell owes nothing to the great exponents of the new biography. His work, well-written, elaborately documented, and slow-moving, with here and there only a phrase or two to show that he is not one of Palmerston's fellow-countrymen, is not merely fair, but perhaps even a little partial to the great English statesman.

Such a life of Palmerston as this must necessarily be practically a detailed history of English foreign policy from Canning's death to 1865. Professor Bell's method, with its ample citation of private and public documents, almost embarrasses his readers by its generosity. Illustrated as it is not only by portraits but by a series of contemporary caricatures

from *Punch*, his work helps us to understand the light as well as the serious aspects of a period rich in contrasting colours. Although hardly the sort of book that the ordinary non-expert will take in his stride or read like a novel, it leaves him in the end eager for still more knowledge, ready to turn to the enormous stores of the Greville diaries or the almost equally formidable mass of Guizot's memoirs.

In one way Professor Bell's merit is also a defect. He has an undoubted liking for his subject; and with a subject of Palmerston's character this inevitably leads to a rather one-sided presentation. Palmerston was the heir of Canning's foreign policy, but he applied it in a manner that was conditioned by his peculiar personality. All his life he was involved in controversies even sharper than those which necessarily surround a Foreign Secretary. Many of these controversies were created by what Queen Victoria and Prince Albert called his "interfering" methods. He was a firm believer in the virtues of the British constitution, and no other man was so responsible for the disastrous notion that it could be taken over wholesale by other countries. We are still witnessing the endlessly virulent effects throughout Europe of this short-sighted belief. Curiously enough, he joined with this apostolic fervour for what he called freedom a very cautious attitude towards any extension of its benefits at home. Although he was a humanitarian, he was by no means what would now be called a Liberal in English, and still less in Irish, affairs.

It was this two-headed attitude of his that firmly fixed the idea of British hypocrisy in the Continental mind. He once accused the Austrian minister, Buol, of "Buollying," but it was an ineradicable propensity of his own. Once or twice he met his match, as in the case of the redoubtable Schwarzenberg, who roughly reminded him of Ireland; but for the most part his success lay in sending European statesmen into paroxysms of rage. Professor Bell never gives the other side of the case; and in this respect his biography is only the raw-material for the critical historian.

Looking back across the gulf of the Great War to which Palmerston's policies led up from a distance, the historian as distinct from the admiring apologist will take a less easy view in many cases than Professor Bell. It is clear now that Palmerston's interferences on behalf of "liberty," besides being highly erratic, were also in most cases detrimental to European concord. His share in the overturning of the July monarchy in France, his over-hasty approval of Napoleon's *coup d'état*, his constant hectoring of Austria, and his blind determination to uphold the integrity of Turkey, all left a heavy legacy to the future, which is hardly yet altogether spent. He was a very energetic minister, and in the Crimean War he acted the part of Lloyd George to Aberdeen's Asquith; but on the whole his vigour and virtuosity, and the popularity of his forceful

methods with the English middle-classes, were more fruitful of evil than Professor Bell will allow, and there is more to be said for his rivals, from Guizot and Metternich even to Czar Nicholas I, than one might conclude from these pages. M. T.

BISHOP CHALLONER (1691–1781). By Michael Trappes-Lomax. Longmans. 1936. Pp. 277. 10s. 6d.

ALONGSIDE Dr. Messenger's scholarly work on *The Reformation, the Mass and the Priesthood* Messrs. Longmans have recently brought out a new Life of Bishop Challoner dealing with a different and much later phase in the history of Catholicism in England. To those who have read his book on Pugin, published a few years ago, the name of the author is in itself a sufficient recommendation for this new work. Yet it is to be doubted whether he altogether achieves in this volume the brilliance of his earlier study. Of course the matter with which he has here to deal is far more intricate and difficult to handle. Here we are brought into touch with the foremost protagonist of the Catholic cause in England during a very gloomy century : there we were introduced to one who was a leader also, but in a happier age and in a lesser sphere.

In this Life of Dr. Challoner, Mr. Trappes-Lomax makes no pretension to that independent research which went to the writing of his Life of Pugin. Yet by providing us within a reasonable compass with the main features of the life of one of England's greatest Catholic Churchmen, hitherto inaccessible save to the few who could come up with Canon Burton's exhaustive work in two volumes *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*, long since out of currency and print, he has laid us under no small obligation. Still in a work of this kind one must not look for that intimate understanding of the subject and that independence of judgment which come from first-hand investigation and sifting of the sources. The man who writes from another's notes or headlines is almost inevitably influenced by this other's views—or at least is in no very strong position to question them. This has been in some degree Mr. Trappes-Lomax's position, and one feels that if he had been able to base his story upon independent research it would have shown a greater freedom and ease.

The story of Dr. Challoner was an interesting story, and Mr. Trappes-Lomax has told it well, providing us at the same time with a graphic picture of the condition of English Catholics during the 18th century and of the manifold difficulties against which those charged with the preservation of the faith in England had to contend. Not only was the Catholic fold threatened with imminent destruction from without, but it was divided also and often sharply divided from within. The wonder is that, weakened by so many conflicts and ill-served by so

many who should have been its mainstay, the Catholic community in England did not suffer greater leakage. Had not God in His Providence raised up at this moment an intrepid champion like Dr. Challoner, who for just over forty years presided over the destinies of the London District and was the most prominent figure among the English Bishops of the time, there is little doubt that the leakage would have been greater. He by precept and example sustained the weak, fanned the devotion of the tepid by his writings and by his sermons, diminished where he could not wholly allay dissensions within the Catholic ranks. The personal cost to himself of his varied labours was immense. Yet all the while he led a most austere, ascetic life. Truly he was, as one of his friends described him, a man " of long-approved virtue and moderation."

Owing to the responsibility of his position Dr. Challoner was in continued correspondence with priests and prelates in many parts of Europe. But in his letters he seldom spoke of himself, except it were to ask for prayers. Even in what concerned business matters he had to be very careful of what he said and had to employ different aliases for himself and others, so as to baffle the authorities in case the letters should be opened or fall into their hands ; and this practice, by force of habit, he continued almost to the end of his life. C. O'C.

LES DICTATEURS. By Jacques Bainville, de l'Académie Française. Paris : Denoel et Steele. 1935. Pp. 300. 15 fr.

An historical survey including all dictatorships from Solon to Hitler, not excepting those of S. America, is necessarily somewhat perfunctory in treatment. The aim of M. Bainville has been, not so much to convey biographical information as to show how, from the earliest ages, tyranny has sprung from the same causes, has maintained itself by the same methods, and has left behind it the same anarchy. The mercenary armies of classical times were enrolled for the same purpose as the black and brown shirts of to-day and rewarded by similar means. The feudal system did not lend itself to dictatorships, and the author, after brief chapters on Greek and Roman tyrants, jumps many centuries to find the first authentic modern dictator in Oliver Cromwell. It is, naturally enough, to Mussolini and Hitler that the closest attention is paid, and while very critical of the latter, M. Bainville is full of admiration for the " noble enterprise " of the former—though, wisely perhaps, breaking off his narrative short of the aggression against Abyssinia. Incidentally he describes Salazar, " the reformer of Portugal," as " the wisest, most honest and most moderate " of European dictators. He is, however, quite emphatic in his belief that dictatorships are not suited to the French temperament, and we may regard his book as, on

the whole, a warning to his countrymen not to let political events and financial confusion so drift as to render a dictatorship the only apparent remedy for a state of intolerable insecurity. V. M. C.

Classics

LUCRETIUS, POET AND PHILOSOPHER. By E. E. Sikes. Cambridge University Press. 1936. 7s. 6d. net.

THE last English monograph on Lucretius was Masson's, which appeared in 1909. Much has been written since then both on the Epicurean philosophy which he preached and on the theory of poetry; indeed current views on both subjects have changed very greatly in the intervening generation. Mr. Sikes is a veteran scholar and authority on Roman poetry. His book is brief, but brightly written, and does much to bring up to date the knowledge of Epicureanism necessary to the reader of Lucretius. The first two chapters and the last are chiefly devoted to the poet himself and his value for modern thought. Mr. Sikes is compelled, rather reluctantly, to admit that the latter is not great. The atomism of Epicurus, although its apologist's extraordinary poetic power and fervour gave it considerable influence in the scientific thought of the seventeenth century, was far enough removed from the physical theories of thirty years ago; it is entirely irrelevant to the physics of to-day.

The problem of didacticism in poetry, raised in the first chapter of this book, is one of great interest, and Mr. Sikes, though his treatment is tantalisingly brief, throws valuable light on it in passing. Lucretius, of course, wrote at a time when archaism was the fashionable poetical mode in Greek-speaking countries, and he necessarily followed Greek standards. In previous centuries, Greek prose-writers had rejected the claim of poets to be teachers, a claim apparently as old as poetry itself. Later didacticism was an artificial revival, but this revival was destined to have a lasting influence and to produce some of the greatest poetry in every language. It was only ended with the coming of the Romantic movement, and nowadays theory seems to have thrown the baby out with the bath-water—discarding poetry along with its right to teach.

What gives Lucretius his everlasting distinction is the success with which he not only taught but applied his immense poetical genius to a most unattractive and intractable subject. There could be scarcely anything more unpoetical than Epicurean physics, unless it was Epicurean ethics. Probably the most acute remark ever made about Lucretius was Patin's explanation of his success by the presence of an *anti-Lucrèce chez Lucrèce.* Where Aratus failed and Manilius was barely tolerable, Lucretius was triumphant, because the poet in him,

and his fervour on behalf of what Mr. Sikes well terms a sort of Buddhistic irreligion, rose superior to the dry details of his theme. His great passages, like the memorable opening invocation to Venus or the splendid "Consolation against Death" in the third book, are those in which he turns away from physics and speaks of life or nature in terms that strictly contradict his doctrine. This intensely vivid poetical power, expressed in mythology or metaphor, is constantly irradiating his rather pitiful pseudo-science. If there is any criticism of Mr. Sikes' very agreeable little book, it is that he says too much about the science and too little about the mystery of the poet's vision.

M. T.

Education

NATURALISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. By Geoffrey O'Connell, M.A.

A HISTORY OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN CONNECTICUT. By Arthur J. Heffernan.

Catholic University of America. 1936. pp. 219 and 186.

These two monographs, submitted to the Catholic University of America as part of its requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, belong to a category of literature which claims the attention of but a limited circle of readers, confined as a rule to the examiners whose business it is to assess the merits of such academic exercises. To the ordinary reader such writings make practically no appeal, and indeed it cannot always be said that they are of much value to even the specialist student in the department of thought with which they are concerned. Written for a special purpose, they have accomplished their object when that purpose is attained. Thereafter, relegated to the literary limbo of the unread, they cannot be said as a rule to serve any useful purpose—save, perhaps, to afford their authors an illustration of Martial's line: *quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque diserti.*

There are, of course, exceptions to such an estimate of the value of academic exercises, and one thinks that the above named monographs will be ranked among the exceptions.

Fr. O'Connell's dissertation is a very workmanlike and painstaking examination of the doctrines upon which current ideals and practice in American education may be said to be based; and when one says this, one means of course something that goes far outside school and college. For the forces operative in shaping educational ideals are the forces that give its ultimate meaning to life in general.

Fr. O'Connell examines the fundamental concepts which determine the trend of American educational philosophy as they are found in the writings of four men who may be regarded as its hierophants—Dewey of Chicago, Kilpatrick, Rugg and Thorndike of Teachers' College,

Columbia. These four men have been the moulders, in ever increasing measure, of the teaching power of America. Their key positions in great universities invest them with great authority over thousands of students, who go out every year spreading their doctrines all through the public schools of the United States. And their influence is by no means confined to the students with whom they are in immediate contact, for they are all incisive writers and as such are powerful agents in shaping general public opinion.

The essence of their educational philosophy is precisely that "naturalism" so strongly condemned by his Holiness Pius XI in the luminous and masterly encyclical "The Education of Christian Youth." Their philosophy is not merely non-Christian in a negative sense, for it is positively anti-Christian. Hence one is not surprised to read in Fr. O'Connell's pages of the growth of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism. This society has now strongly entrenched itself in colleges and schools with the express purpose of winning the young away from belief in God.

Fr. O'Connell confines himself mainly to an exposition of the naturalistic doctrines on the side of theory, with of course such criticism as naturally suggests itself to one trained in the philosophy of the Catholic Church. He does not deal with them from the side of scholastic practice. Now, American books on method are widely used by students of education, mainly no doubt because they are practically the only books available in English. It may be queried if their merits on the side of practice outweigh their demerits on the side of their theoretical foundation. Based on the quantitative methods of experimental science, they can have only a very limited value for either educational practice or theory—things concerned with mental phenomena which in great measure baffle the experimentalist's art. And at any rate the verdict of competent opinion on American scholastic achievement as compared with that of old-fashioned European countries may well make one doubt the value of the "New Lights" in education.

Fr. Heffernan's treatise is in the nature of a survey of educational effort by Catholics in a limited area of the United States. It is a thoroughly documented study, valuable not merely as an educational survey, but no less as a chapter in the history of the Church in America. The story it tells is an inspiring narrative of a continual struggle against difficulties to maintain the parochial school system, and it is the story of a triumph in which people of Irish birth or descent, men and women, clerical and lay, have played no unworthy part. It has often been made the subject of animadversion that the American Church has insisted on the maintenance of her own schools side by side with the more richly endowed public schools. But Fr. O'Connell's dissertation makes it clear that in so doing she followed the only policy that could

save the faith in America. Even from the purely scholastic angle of accomplishment these schools need fear no comparison with their rivals. What is true of Connecticut is, one thinks, true in general of American Catholic schools. One is glad to have so well done an account of a notable scholastic and religious achievement as Fr. Heffernan has given in this unpretentious treatise, and we may express the hope that both it and Fr. O'Connell's monograph will be widely read both in Ireland and in America. W. J. W.

History

A RETROSPECT. Looking Back over a Life of More than Eighty Years. By Lord Parmoor. London: Heinemann. 1936. 15s.

A PORTRAIT of Talleyrand hung in the place of honour in the room of an Oxford don. To an enquiring pupil he explained that he had placed it there to express his belief that in politics character is more important than principle, finesse more vital than virtue. Any one who shares this scepticism regarding the qualifications for a successful public life would be well advised to read Lord Parmoor's Autobiography. For here is a straightforward and most readable account of the life of an English statesman which was inspired by Christian principles and devoted with a rare conviction to the cause of peace and social justice.

Charles Alfred Cripps was born in 1852 of an old landed family in Gloucestershire. Early he gave promise of brilliant intellectual attainments. He was a scholar of Winchester and of New College, obtained first class honours in three Final Schools at Oxford, and was elected to a Fellowship at St. John's. But unattracted by the cloistered life of a university town, he decided upon a career in a wider field. And in this book, which is a memorable record of his service as a lawyer, as a Churchman, as a statesman, nothing is more remarkable than the courageous loyalty of this English landowner to the conception of a social order and an international organisation repugnant to the vast majority of his class and profession. That freshness of outlook and that unquestioned intellectual integrity which Lord Parmoor has preserved throughout an eventful life explains how the High-Church Tory of 1914 became Lord President of the Council in the first Labour Cabinet in 1924.

Lord Parmoor has never been a strong party politician. Judicial reasons led Mr. Asquith, a political opponent and legal colleague, to offer him a peerage in 1914. And it was the outbreak of war in that year which proved the turning point in Lord Parmoor's life; for he realised that war meant the failure of European civilization. He shared none of the illusions of the Liberal Government either as to its duration or its consequence. Thenceforward he devoted his energies

to the relief of the war victims (as in Vienna in 1919), in fighting the varied manifestations of the war spirit (as Mr. Lloyd George's Irish policy), and in the endeavour to rebuild upon foundations of justice the shattered fabric of European civilization. It was primarily in order to further the cause of international peace that Lord Parmoor accepted office in the first Labour Government. A chapter, revised by the late Mr. Arthur Henderson, recounting in detail the drafting and acceptance by the League of Nations of the historic Geneva Protocol reveals the fundamental character of his policy. Lord Parmoor claims that the ratification of the Protocol would have materially diminished the risk of war—a view endorsed by recent events. The *Retrospect* describes the work and fall of the two Labour Cabinets. Lord Parmoor is critical of the rôle played by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in 1931 and believes that the Labour Party made a lamentable mistake in not accepting the leadership of Mr. Henderson many years earlier.

Lord Parmoor's varied activities, the pioneer rôle he has played in English politics, his work at Geneva, all afford a guarantee of the interest of this dignified retrospect. His sincerity in the cause of international justice is well illustrated by his refund (which is not mentioned in this book) to each individual Irish farmer of the amount of penal duty levied on all Irish cattle bought to stock his farm in the Chiltern Hills. N. M.

DUBLIN UNDER THE GEORGES. By Constantia Maxwell, M.A., Litt.D., Lecturer in Modern History, Trinity College, Dublin. London : Harrap. 1936. Pp. 277. 12s. 6d.

WERE it for the illustrations alone—33 in number—Miss Maxwell's book would merit high praise and commendation. But it is also recommended by the story it tells and by the manner in which that story is told. To begin with, in contradistinction to many other writers on the history of Dublin Miss Maxwell gives first an historical background of the period with which she deals (1714–1830). Then follow chapters on the Growth and Development of the City ; the Life of the Rich ; the Life of the Poor ; the Intellectual and Artistic Life of the City ; the Theatre ; Industry and Commerce ; and a concluding chapter on Impressions of English Visitors. This last chapter provides a hint of the audience for whom in the main Miss Maxwell writes. Sir John Gilbert, probably the best known of Dublin's other historians, covers in many ways the same ground ; but he, like some other predecessors, takes the city street by street.

Miss Maxwell makes no disguise of her debt to Gilbert's history, for no one writing upon Dublin since his time can well afford to neglect his work. She also acknowledges, and with truth, a large debt to Mrs. Delany's *Diary* and to Arthur Young's *Tour in Ireland*, both stock

sources of information. But besides these, of course, a wide range of other contemporary 18th and early 19th century writers have been generously consulted. Owing to the large number of persons and places mentioned, however, Miss Maxwell has not found it possible to say much about any one in particular. As a result her work lacks something of the interest of Sir John Gilbert's history, which abounds in anecdote of every kind. The lack is regrettable, as it gives a somewhat distant and academic air to much that is said and leaves one in the end with a less vivid and lasting impression of 18th century life in Dublin. It also accounts for the fact that at times the reader is apt to feel that he is reading a *résumé* of 18th century *Irish* history rather than a history of *Dublin* and the life of its citizens. Miss Maxwell further contributes to the creation of this misapprehension by the wide embrace of some of her statements. But making allowance for this, the thoroughness with which she addresses herself to the various phases of citizen activity in Dublin is a tribute to her wide reading and versatility.

It seems rather a pity that Miss Maxwell has not told us more about the humbler ways of life in 18th and early 19th century Dublin. A considerable amount of information concerning the business and professional classes, which it would be of interest to have studied, may be gleaned from the lists of tradesmen, merchants and professional men to be found in almanacs of the time. Other information concerning stage-coach bases, fares and similar matters is to be had in the same sources. One would have expected also to hear something of the change which occurred in Dublin about the last quarter of the 18th century when shops exchanged their signs for numbers and streets their old names for others more familiar to our ears nowadays. In connection, furthermore, with the literary life of Dublin little is said of the flourishing pamphlet press or of native Irish scholars in Dublin at the time ; and though the foundation of the Royal Irish Academy was preceded by two other historical associations—the *Physico-Historical Society* (founded about 1744) and a *Select Antiquarian Committee* of the Royal Dublin Society (organised in 1772) which included in its membership persons not members of the Dublin Society—Miss Maxwell expresses surprise that the founding of the Academy " did not materialize sooner." Had it not been for these earlier efforts in a similar direction—however transient they proved—it may well be doubted whether the Academy (which incidentally has in its archives the minutes of the transactions of these earlier bodies) would ever have come into being.

On page 225 reference is made to an *Essay on the Ancient and Modern State of Ireland*, quoted elsewhere also, which is spoken of as the work of " an anonymous author." The work was, it is true, published

anonymously; but it came from the pen of a certain Henry Brooke. Though Brooke was a man of some standing in his day—for a time a Member of the Irish Parliament and a writer of acknowledged ability—Miss Maxwell passes over his career in silence, while others less conspicuous receive honourable mention from her. But it is ungracious to quarrel with her because, in giving so much, she has not given more. Her book, written in a pleasant easy strain, is evidently the fruit of prolonged and painstaking research; and we thank her for it.

C. O'C.

A HISTORY OF THE GREEK WORLD. From 479 to 323 B.C. By M. L. W. Laistner. London: Methuen. 1936. 15s. net.

THIS is the fifth volume in Messrs. Methuen's very successful series on the Greek and Roman World. With the appearance of two more the series will be complete, and the student will have to his hand a group of volumes in which he will find probably the best attempt so far made to combine exacting scholarship with historical judgment and living interest in a much-worked field. It is now a long time since the illustrious Beloch drew his famous distinction between the *Philologe* and the *Historiker* as writers on ancient history. As far as English work is concerned the *Historiker* has won the day.

In Mr. Laistner's work, as elsewhere in this series, the sources are handled judicially and without that slavish respect for the written text that so long made Greek histories merely re-hashes of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plutarch. He gives full scope to collateral evidence, from inscriptions, coins, and archaeological discovery. We notice only one instance where he might have displayed more caution: the citation on p. 80, as evidence for the size of the Athenian fleet in 428, of a passage from Thucydides which all modern editors reject as spurious. In his discussions of such subjects as the Great Plague at Athens, the population of Greek cities, the topography of Syracuse, Greek strategy and tactics, and even on such a detail as the date of the *Rhesus* of Euripides, he will be found fully abreast of the latest conclusions of scholarship.

The period covered by this book includes the full classical age of Greece. It thus makes an admirable unity, and it is well to have the fourth century accorded proper treatment as a period of great achievements in spite of the disastrous "post-war" decline that falls within it. Mr. Laistner is uniformly fresh and interesting. His accounts of the first Peloponnesian War, the careers of Cimon, Pericles and Cleon, the exploits of Dionysius and the struggle between Demosthenes and Philip, are all informed by the same vigorous freedom from conventional prejudices. He has no illusions about the darker side of this wonderful age, and emphasises fully the defects of the Periclean policy, while giving Cleon—and rightly—more credit than he usually receives.

Without anywhere plunging into the attractive but dangerous region of speculative judgment and far-reaching comparison, he manages to suggest to his readers many instructive parallels with other periods.

Perhaps the best example of this is his verdict on the great Peloponnesian War. The really irreparable harm done by it, he says, " was not the wastage of lives nor the impoverishment of the combatants, but the destruction of the balance of power in the Hellenic world." Here there is obvious room for comparison with our own experience, and it would have been possible to suggest that Persia, decadent though she was, played in the fifth century B.C. the role of America twenty years ago. But Mr. Laistner, who never forgets that he is writing a manual for students, wisely contents himself with showing how the lost balance was only restored in the wholly new union brought about by Macedonia.

About a third of the book is devoted to brief but well-planned and informative chapters on warfare, government, economics, art, language, literature, science, philosophy, and religion. The notes throughout the work refer to the most up-to-date authorities, and there is a very good brief bibliography—where, however, we miss a reference to Schwartz's great work on Thucydides, while we are certain that Mr. Laistner cannot have read the work on the Eleusinian Mysteries which he recommends. M. T.

Politics

LA CHINE DANS LE MONDE. Par Jean Marquès-Rivière. Paris : Payot. 1935. 20 fr.

THERE has been much talk for years of a mysterious Yellow Peril. Lately the Peril is appearing under two different forms. Some say that Russia is sovietising Asia. She has her republics in Mongolia and in the heart of China, her agents and her cells in Japan and Siam and India and other countries. When the whole vast block has been sovietised, it will bear down on an enfeebled Europe, and European culture will be no more. That is the first form.

Others see the Peril differently. Japan is going to assume control of China's 400,000,000 people, and with them she will make short work of Europe. I don't know if America comes into the picture or not. In any case Europe is going to have another Dark Age, and China is going to provide the necessary man power for either Russia or Japan in the great work of destruction.

Is there anything in these alarming forecasts ? M. Marquès-Rivière is convinced that there is. In the present book *La Chine dans le Monde* he has collected an enormous quantity of facts relating to Russian influence in China. And as he is also the author of a book called *L'URSS dans le Monde*, presumably he knows what he is talking

about when he speaks of Sovietism. He gives a very complete survey of the internal condition of China and of its revolutionary struggles from 1911 to 1935. There are most interesting chapters on the semi-independent countries of Mongolia, Turkestan, and Tibet, as well as on the ancient Chinese vassal-states of Siam and Annam. In all except the last he shows the continual struggles and intrigues of Russia and Japan, with England as a third factor in Turkestan and Tibet, and China making feeble efforts to keep them all out. He is particularly strong on the ambitious schemes of Japan, and the most recent events bear out what he says on this point.

The book is meant for the general reader. Everything is made as clear as possible—and the French can make things clear. There are fifteen sketch-maps, each to illustrate a special point. The Chinese names are written in a simpler way than Frenchmen usually write them. The book is also written with great verve and imagination. It reads like a good novel. And though the author prides himself on having stated nothing but facts, he has not let any facts interfere with the general trend of his opinions. Thus he has a poor opinion of Sun Yat Sen, the Father of the Revolution. Every fact that could blacken Sun Yat Sen is utilised.

The book has some delightful Tacitean touches. Thus of the Regent who preceded the Revolution : " Il eut cette douceur mélancolique de ceux qui préparent les révolutions." There are some very effective silences. In the section on missions the author devotes pages to the various activities of the Catholics ; but when he comes to the Protestants, the only activity he gives them credit for is the spending of 150 million dollars in three years. Incidentally he has got a suspicious sentence about the Chinese priesthood. " Il n'y a pas de peuple plus séduisant et plus doué dans l'art de décevoir." If he means the Chinese priests are hypocrites, he should withdraw that. His idea of the Church's aim is so absurd anyway that we need not attach much importance to this section. He thinks the Church wants China to remain " toujours sous la tutelle missionnaire." But that is by the way. He revels in palace intrigues, poisonings, secret documents, sudden deaths. . . Yet he gives a vast amount of less sensational information about the questions a European would like to ask. Army, Navy, Air Force, Land Problems, the ravages and massacres of the Communists, the organisation of the Societ Republics in the heart of China. On this last point he is a bit too precise. He has a sketch map of the Soviet Republics which is no longer true, as he admits in another place himself. These things change from week to week. Likewise I should be rather sceptical about his assertion that Chang Kai Shek's army is half a million strong. A great deal of his " facts " are based on " on dit."

Altogether it is a most interesting book. Is it trustworthy ? In the main, probably, yes. The author may never have been in China. He has certainly never been in Hongkong or near it, or he would not write : " Sur les pentes, en haut, la ville chinoise grouille." He may not know the Chinese language. He makes a few blunders which would be impossible to a student of the language, as when he says that " Chang-Kai-Shek se prononce Tsiang-Tsié-Che dans le sud." He may not be very familiar with Chinese history or he would not talk of Pekín as if it had been the capital of China from the beginning. But he has filed a tremendous amount of facts from modern newspapers and books. Now these books and newspaper articles contain a great deal of reliable information. The early Jesuit accounts of China set up a standard of fairness and accuracy which has been largely adhered to. China is very lucky in that respect. It is true that one or two books in French have appeared which are full of misrepresentations. And our friend has not altogether escaped their infection. Thus he makes the absurd statement : " Physiologiquement, des docteurs sans parti-pris me l'ont affirmé, les Chinois sont des névropathes." What a country ! Four hundred million *névropathes*—nervous wrecks ! And most of them farmers ! Again he calls the valley of the Yangtse " Southern China." There is a French idea, you see, that Kwangtung and the whole of the south are only a Chinese colony. I don't say that M. Marquès-Rivière subscribes to that idea. But a few of his notes must have been culled from one of these French propaganda books.

Apart from these minor points and allowing for the influence of likes and dislikes in the selection or suppression of various facts, the book gives a very clear outline of the scheme of things. G. H.

THEY THAT TAKE THE SWORD. The Future of the League of Nations. By Douglas Jerrold. London : John Lane. 1936. 6s. net.

READING this book is rather like sitting in a room which is made less comfortable than it ought to be by too much furniture and a violent draught. Mr. Jerrold's principles are admirable, and badly need stating. There is nothing healthier at the present time than reasoned criticism of the League of Nations. All that this book contains of criticism is sound and could well be added to. Unfortunately Mr. Jerrold takes a very roundabout way of saying it, and is not always very coherent in his expression. Here is a sentence which is not unique in his pages : " In the second place, if liberty is not essential, the terms on which an agreement between a majority of governments to enforce a closed political system on the rest would no longer be inaccept-

able in themselves." An argument conducted at length in this fashion is apt to be rather bothering, and the bother rises to irritation when one finds errors like "Chalcocondylias" and "*caedit quaestio*" emerging from the tangle here and there. It is a pity Mr. Jerrold did not take more time over his book, cut out verbiage, shorten sentences, and in general tone down the energy of the writing.

His criticism of the League is briefly set out on pages 191 and 192. The discussion of international affairs by an international parliament embodying the principle of representation has been a failure, because the Assembly and the Council are not and cannot be representative in the ordinary sense of the word; because free speech in discussions between representatives of sovereign states is impossible; and because the "representatives" are in fact responsible, not to the League, but to their own nationals. This very defective machinery has determined, and made defective in turn, the principles on which the obligations of member States are based. The Covenant assumed good faith in signatories actuated in fact by totally contradictory philosophies and moralities. It furthermore substituted for equity a series of statistical tests without moral content, and baptised the resultant legalism with the name of "international morality." In consequence of these faults, when the League does take action, its motives are purely political and not in any real sense moral, and thus it perpetuates the use of force as an instrument of policy.

Mr. Jerrold sees no hope for the League as at present constituted, and he is equally critical of the substitutes for it suggested by current discussion. A world State he regards as a dream; the racial gospel of the dictators can end only in a series of wars between racial units; and the new system of "regional pacts" is merely the old chess-play of the Great Powers with a new name, which in present conditions is more productive of war than ever. Even since the publication of his book the truth of this threefold diagnosis has been borne out by events. His remedy again, if necessarily limited in scope, is sound. If the League is to become an instrument of peace, its membership must be confined to nations subscribing to a common morality, and its range of action to those matters to which that common morality applies. No useful bond is possible between nations which believe in freedom and those which have made persecution a principle. No common action is worth while unless it is based on justice. Attempts to make history stop, to petrify political arrangements at any stage have never succeeded and never will.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Jerrold's book will have many readers, if only in order that a demand for a second edition may induce him to re-write it with the clarity with which such sound thinking deserves to be expressed.

M. T.

Miscellaneous

THE BATTLE GROUND. By Hilaire Belloc. London: Cassell. 1936. 12s. 6d.

IN THE STEPS OF THE MASTER. By H. V. Morton. London: Rich and Cowan. 1934. 7s. 6d.

In this account of the battleground of East and West, Syria, Mr. Belloc shows once more his ability to grasp, and make his reader grasp, the essentials of geography; and to write history in vivid picture at the same time that he extracts and emphasizes its motives and principles. Race after race, civilisation after civilisation pass over this scene; the Desert, Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome, Islam, the Crusades, the Turk, and lastly France and England; and meanwhile there are the People, their worship of One God, their clinging to the Kingdom, the life of Our Lord, Christianity. How can Mr. Belloc be so true to all this and yet so brief? Perhaps it is chiefly because of his admission of the wonderful into history. The historian who thinks all men are just like himself will labour long to explain one of these phases, say the rise of Islam, and still not get it done.

Not all parts of the book are equally good. In the early part Mr. Belloc must depend a good deal on specialists. He does not like them, and his dislike is amusing and to a certain extent salutary. It is salutary to be reminded that taking hypothesis for fact is a gross error, and amusing (to the non-specialist) to hear that those who call the Almighty Yahweh are "fools." Mr. Belloc's anger is visited particularly on the Hittites, as a sort of spurious offspring of the pedants; and he declares their language, deciphered nearly twenty years ago, "undecipherable." After all, the scholars must be drawn upon, and it is a pity Mr. Belloc had not patience to draw more. There is, thus, no distinct account of the Egyptian Captivity; and a chapter entitled "The Plough of Egypt" is unsatisfactory because we never learn what the Plough is—*i.e.*, what Egypt did to Syria.

With the classical age Mr. Belloc gets on sure ground. Admirable is his account of the rise and nature of Greek civilisation and its spread over the Near East, and his corresponding account of Rome.

The central episode of Syrian history is shown by a dramatic method, employing two imaginary eye-witnesses. It is well done. But surely Mr. Belloc goes wrong in his account, very detailed and picturesque, of our Lord's coming up to Jerusalem. He makes it by Samaria and (apparently) the Ephraim Gate; but it must have been by the Jordan valley, Jericho, and the Golden Gate. This was the way always taken by the Jews of the North, to avoid hostile country; and it is indicated in the Gospels and by tradition.

Mr. Belloc's military pen excels in the Siege of Jerusalem; his

vision of analogies in the likening of Islam to Russian Communism. There is not space to mention anything more, except his account of the present Western dominion in Syria. He foresees trouble from two sources: the division between potentially hostile powers and the British fostering of Zionism. The latter is the more immediate danger, and it has come nearer since the book was written. The British can only protect Zionism at the risk of bringing on themselves a united Islam, and the risk is doubled now that an active power is established in Abyssinia. The Jews, if they are thrown over, may make a fight, and the younger generation of them looks capable of making a good one; but they can no more hold their little coast strip than their ancestors or the Crusaders.

Mr. Morton's book is a descriptive tour of the Holy Land, with history told in sections appropriate to each place and with a great deal of useful information not to be found in guide-books. It is well written—popularly but not too popularly, for it will satisfy the intelligent and fairly scholarly pilgrim or pilgrim in imagination. For the sake of the former, the publishers ought to consider an edition on thin paper. It is a big book to carry three thousand miles.

J. J. H.

L'IRLANDE. By Roger Chauviré. Paris: Henri Didier. 1936. Pp. 234.

GENTLE IRELAND. By Hugh de Blácam. Milwaukee: Bruce. 1935. 2 dollars.

A WAYFARER IN IRELAND. By Con O'Leary. London: Methuen. 1935. 7s. 6d. net.

HERE is a batch of books on Ireland whose value is in inverse ratio to the lengths of their respective titles. Professor Chauviré's is the sort of guide-book one does not often come across, complete and generally accurate in its historical and statistical information (the spelling of Irish names is sometimes weak) and at the same time written with distinction and wit and packed with judgments that are "personnel" in the best French sense. It is the sort of book one reads at a sitting, going on and on to find the author's opinion about something else and always finding something fresh. Professor Chauviré's judgments are not conventional; thus he thinks Dublin outwardly very like an English city, and his remarks on Sligo Cathedral, Lynch's "Castle" and the city of Cork are not what one usually meets in a guide-book. The only fault I should find with the book is perhaps in its last few pages, in which he cites Chateaubriand and emphasises Irish melancholy. In this connection it is interesting to note that he never mentions the G.A.A., that most inportant institution in Irish country life.

The work of the Irish Tourist Association is vindicated in so far that

all the books listed publish the same photograph of a Carna *sgéaluidhe*, though they do not give his name. Mr. de Blácam's book is written from a rosy point of view; its illustrations give a very optimistic idea of the average Irish house, for example, and his title, taken from " La Douce France ", is rather one-sided as a description of a country not noted for gentleness at all times. It is true that anywhere in the Gaeltacht one meets specimens of an almost unequalled courtesy, sweetness and mildness of manner, but the typical Irishman, as Americans very well know, is no more mild than he is melancholy. Mr. de Blácam again, though he describes Galway Races, has nothing on the G.A.A. His book is not of course a guide-book but a series of very pleasant and very readable sketches on typical aspects of Irish life, with a generous intermingling of literary quotations (many in Irish) and of historical lore. This and the fact that the religious life of the people gets its fair share of attention give Mr. de Blácam's book an attractiveness and value of its own, and make it especially suitable for American reading, as it is intended.

Mr. O'Leary's book, from its size, scope, and appearance, promised to be the nearest thing to a good solid guide-book of the lot. Appearances are deceptive: it is so marred by careless error that scarcely any of its statements is to be taken on trust. On one page, for example, occur the absurd derivation of " Lynch law " from the fifteenth-century Mayor of Galway, the term " renowned geologist " applied to Mac Fir Bisigh, and " Cambrensis Aversus " as the name of a celebrated book.

M. T.

THE AKIKUYU. Their Customs and Traditions. By Father C. Cagnolo, I.M.C. English translation. Nyeri (Kenya): Consolata Fathers. 1933. 21s. net.

Special interest attaches to this book at the present time, since the Akikuyu tribe inhabit a territory not far removed either from Abyssinia or Italian Somaliland. The Consolata Fathers treat every aspect of the native's social and political life—economy, language, home life, diseases and medicines, songs and dances, beliefs, customs, folklore and proverbs, the *flora* and *fauna*, even geographical characteristics of the country. It is noteworthy that this tribe is monotheistic, believing in *Ngai*, the Supreme Being and Source of all things, and also in the *Ngoma*, the innumerable spirits of the dead.

Though they have priests, they have no temples, but, like the druids, offer their sacrifices under sacred trees. Circumcision is a universal rite with the peculiarity that there is a rite, also called circumcision by Father Cagnolo and not further described, for girls. It is perhaps regrettable that so much was attempted in one book. A survey of everything made an exhaustive study of anything im-

possible. The folk stories quoted remind one of Aesop's fables; a few modern allegories about money show that the folk inspiration still lives.

One feels throughout that native customs and life should be described with slightly greater understanding. Father Cagnolo seems to think that only superstition and ignorance reigned until the "British power, chosen by Providence, as in other times elsewhere the Roman," brought to this tribe "the precious patrimony of civilisation which Europe has only collected after 2,000 years of slow laborious progress." Nevertheless the book will be found interesting and useful to students of ethnology, anthropology and other social studies, and at the same time to all those interested in foreign missionary work.

G. MAC EOIN

THE JACOBEAN DRAMA. An Interpretation. By U. M. Ellis-Fermor. London: Methuen. 1936. 12s. 6d. net.

THERE is a need for a good survey of the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama: something balanced and systematic, borrowing from and setting in order and completing what is contained in the brilliant monographs and fragmentary treatments made by the critics from Lamb to Mr. Eliot; something, in other words, like the admirable surveys of later periods by Professor Elton. Attempts have been made to fill the gap, but they have produced for the most part the merest text-books.

Miss Ellis-Fermor's book is far more than this. She has a true sense of life and art, and she often writes extremely well. The fault of her book is that it begins with a general theory which is to embrace and explain the dramatists, but is too narrow to do so. The particular examinations of the dramatists which follow are unsatisfactory, because they are restricted to the features of each which justify the foregoing theory. As a result of this unhappy planning there is a great deal of repetition, while at the same time a great deal is omitted. Miss Fermor would have done better to write an essay on the influence of Machiavelli (which is her theory) and a book of essays on the dozen dramatists—full essays, not limited to their Machiavellian side.

This criticism does not mean that the book is a bad one. It is a good book. But it just fails in the task it comes nearer perhaps than any other to fulfilling—perhaps the hardest task lying before English scholarly criticism. Many pages reach a very high level; notably those on the plotting of *The Alchemist* and on *The Duchess of Malfi*.

J. J. H.

L'EXIL DES ENFANTS. Par Nadejda Gorodetzky. Collection "Les Iles." Paris: Desclée De Brouwer. 1936. 12 fr.

Our reflections on the Russian revolution run usually into one of two channels. Many of us think chiefly, with horror, on the consequences present and future of the Soviet régime. Others are concerned to prove that it nevertheless swept away injustice and tyranny, that it has produced some fruits, that it is an "interesting" experiment in democracy, and so on.

Now here is a novel,—with a minimum of romantic plot,—which reminds us of one of the less sensational consequences of the revolution, the fate of those whom it drove out. For many of these Russia, "Holy Russia," idealised in memory or in imagination, is a dear lost fatherland. In the opening chapter two unconscious children are playing on the deck of a refugee steamer. In the last chapter, some twelve years later, one of the two, obsessed by longing for her country, by the wretchedness in every sense of her fellow-exiles, by the unselfish desire to serve—perhaps even to preach the forgotten Christ—is speeding back alone. She is going to a life of sacrifice and almost certain failure. The other, her all but fiancé, unheroic and caught in the net of spurious love and success, stands behind on the railway-platform in self-despising remorse. But his remorse will not last.

Between these two scenes are set innumerable others that show the *tragédie de l'émigration* in young lives. Their Orthodox faith—incarnated in the dear old *pope*, simple and spiritual—gives them no sufficient anchorage. Thrown into the vortex of Paris, uprooted and *déclassés*, poor, miserably housed, a prey to their intensely speculative and emotional national character, they pursue every fleeting ideal—political, social, merely personal. Though many of them reach no goal, there is a high spiritual quality in the book. It has also a high artistic quality. The characters are alive and arouse our understanding, pity and sympathy. The author has a remarkable power of suggestion and evocation. Moral and mental conflicts, aspects of Paris and its life, landscapes, scenes full of atmosphere and character, are all shown with wonderful delicacy and economy of means. It is a book well worth reading.

M. R.

Philosophy

PRAELECTIONES THEOLOGIAE NATURALIS. Tomus II. De Dei Cognoscibilitate. Par Pedro Descoqs, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. 1935. 112 fr.

Usually the tract on natural theology is the slimmest of the scholastic text-books, so slim at times as to suggest an argument for agnosticism. Fr. Descoqs has rectified this mild scandal. In a volume of over 900 pages he has succeeded in confining himself to the argument from the

degrees of perfection for the existence of God, some half-dozen less important arguments, an article on the possibility of atheism, the divine attributes of infinity and simplicity, and the question of the analogy of being. The accuracy and extent of the first-hand knowledge displayed are astonishing. It would be a profitable exercise in humility to read the fourteen-page index of proper names, ranging from Lao-Tse to Eddington and Bernard Shaw, and to note how many presumably famous names are unfamiliar. There is an article on Bolshevism that for completeness and orderliness is more instructive than many books; it deduces the success of Communism from the efficiency of anti-religious education (*verb. sap.*). Indeed one can gather from the book the opinions on natural religion at present current in most of the world's centres of thought.

Besides its scholarship the book is interesting for its doctrine. The latter has as close an affinity to that of Suarez as perhaps any doctrine taught to-day. One cannot but applaud Fr. Descoq's adroit sword-play in polemics with his adversaries, the Thomists. Now and again, however, one feels that even after his attack their cause is not quite hopeless. For sometimes he overlooks reserves of Thomistic doctrine that doubtless seem unimportant to him but may not seem so to them. For instance, he denies the validity of the fourth way except as a restatement of the argument from contingency. But he also shows that the argument from possibles is reducible to the fourth way. And when thus reduced, may it not render the fourth way an argument independent of that from contingency? Others besides Thomists have thought it does so (v. Hontheim, *Theod.* § 224), and Fr. Descoqs seems to have overlooked this possibility.

But the decisive encounter of the book is Fr. Descoq's attack on the principle of the limitation of act by potency. Needless to say, he maintains the possibility of an act limited by itself alone. But, holding this, has he proved the infinity of the pure act by saying that we can find no sufficient reason for its limitation (this seems to us to be the gist at least of his two foremost proofs when stripped to their essentials)? True, we can *find* none, but may not one be there, even though the pure act be uncaused, if the act can be limited by itself, by its *own nature*? If these proofs are invalid, it does not follow that this is the necessary result of denying the principle of the limitation of act by potency. And if it were the necessary result of such a denial, it would not then show that the principle denied is necessarily true. A better way to test the value of the principle is to consider Fr. Descoqs's direct attack on it. Now he attacks an interpretation of the real distinction that seems to represent accurately the mind of many Thomists, especially of the last generation, on the question. This interpretation considers the potency as a positive reality, and indeed Fr. Descoqs makes no

bones about calling it a participation of *being* (p. 725). Now if being can be limited by being or act by act, it seems reasonable to hold that an act can be limited by itself; Fr. Descoqs's dialectics give short shrift to *that* view of the real distinction. But there is a modern interpretation of this ancient doctrine that considers the potency as a negative reality, in fact, as identically the limit itself. On the meaning of limit Fr. Descoqs holds the sound view that it is the negation of ulterior perfection. There is a pleasing irony in the fact that on the same page (p. 582) he refutes the opinion of Fr. Pirotta, O.P., who holds that a limit is a positive reality and thereby (in our opinion) makes the real distinction untenable. Later on (p. 709) Fr. Descoqs assigns as the intrinsic cause of the act's limitation—the necessity of which cause he admits—the limit itself of the act (*ipsa limitatio essentiae quae est per se ipsam limitata*). Now Fr. Descoqs will not deny that the limit is a reality. But the act is perfection, and by his own admission the limit is a negation of perfection. Will he continue to contend that one is the same identical reality as the other? Or will he take liberties with the principle of contradiction? Elsewhere (p. 706) he cites a passage from Fr. Valensin with approval, for it indeed bears out forcibly his own refutation of the view of the real distinction that he has chosen to attack. But again he overlooks the fact that in the very next two paragraphs after his citation Fr. Valensin explains and defends the real distinction in what we take to be the correct sense, as between being and essence as *limit*. Apparently Fr. Descoqs stopped reading just as he was about to have the matter explained to him. Dear me! What a narrow escape!

The fact would seem to be that between conservative Thomism and the most indomitable Suarezianism the irreconcilable differences are fewer than many have been wont to think. No Scholastic with the true warrior's spirit will fail to find this possibility distressing. Meanwhile let it not be said that failure to agree on the part of a reviewer entails failure to admire. We welcome a book that is great not merely in quantity, great for its exhaustive and up-to-date learning, for the sane trend of its thought, for the courage and directness of its criticism. It is impossible in a review to enumerate any of its more memorable passages without wronging the remainder. Suffice it to say that as a work on natural theology it is unique in its interest and specific value.

A. L.

VALUES AND REALITY. By Leo Ward, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame. London: Sheed & Ward. 1935. 7s. 6d.

This book is written with literary finish and without text-book formality. The author develops his views with constant reference to current discussions, particularly in America, and by way of criticism,

always good-tempered, of his contemporaries. Accordingly, he frequently mixes *argumenta ad hominem* with exposition. This is, perhaps, the most suitable method for his purpose, but it results at times in a certain unevenness and desultoriness. Fr. Ward is so successful in certain purely expository sections that one would wish for a strictly systematic treatise from him on his favourite subject of Values.

The discussions coincide, for the most part, with those in treatises on Ethics ; but the wider meaning of ' value,' as compared with ' moral good,' gives the author a larger scope, so that social and economic tendencies and literary movements come within his purview.

After an introduction, on the restlessness of modern life and the need of aims and standards, Fr. Ward gives a philosophy of value, which is really nothing else than the Scholastic teleology. " Every sort of process, whether deliberate or not, whether conscious or not, vital or not, involves valuation." The shock of this statement is lessened when we know that ' value ' is used as the equivalent of ' bonum.' Noting the ambiguous use of ' bonum ' in St. Thomas, as meaning either the object of any appetition or what preserves or perfects, the author selects the latter meaning as providing the most usable definition of value. The valuer purposes the valued, as something that develops and perfects it. Narrowing the subject to human purposes and values, Fr. Ward surveys different views as to the end of human life, and concludes that it is fulness of human being as interpreted by St. Thomas. That a modicum of egoism is necessarily involved in this is shown in an interesting chapter entitled " Ipsemet."

The central theme of the book is the question of standards of value. The chapter on the nature of order and the nature of standards is in the author's best manner. In a critical survey of standards, the radical view of Dewey and the view of the New Humanists are stated and criticized at length. The chapter " Man and his Environment " gives a good account of the moral standard in the Scholastic view. This may be called the ideal of humanness, if properly interpreted. The chapter on " Social Will as Standard " shows the errors of sociologism historicism, and anti-historicism, with a variety of specimens of each. The more detailed application of the standard is carried out in connection with an excellent account of the scale of values in St. Thomas. The final chapters deal with the value of money, the integrated life, and reverence. J. S.

VALUE AND EXISTENCE. By N. O. Lossky and John S. Marshall. London : Allen & Unwin. 1935. 7s. 6d.

WHEREAS Fr. Ward's book is mainly ethical, Lossky's work on value is altogether metaphysical. He begins with a critical survey of psycho-

logical theories of value. Against these he holds that value is objective. He accepts the axiom *ens est bonum*, but in a specified sense. Whatever exists has value; but, as Leibniz maintained against Eckhart, *esse* may be *bene esse* or *male esse*. Everything that exists not only exists, but contains within itself the justification or the condemnation of its being. This distinction of positive and negative existing values is grounded in his metaphysical theory, which resembles Hegelianism, but is rooted rather in Christian Neo-Platonism. He calls the theory concrete ideal-realism, also hierarchical personalism. Working out the metaphysical conditions that make value possible, he depicts a universe resembling in some respects that of Leibniz: a world of substantial agents, each ego-like, concretely ideal, striving to or away from fulness of being, all in mutual ideal immanence, depending on a super-cosmic Principle who is absolute fulness of being and perfection. Developing this doctrine, he uses freely the language of the theology of the Greek Church. "Value lies primarily in the Trinitarian life of God; but secondarily in the Kingdom of Heaven as the Body of the Trinity. This Kingdom is a complex organization of many agents forming and creating a common life in space and time." Such translation of philosophical doctrine into theological terms makes the book obscure and difficult. J. S.

Books Received

Alexander, Nora. Wanderings in Yugoslavia. (Skeffington, 18/–).
Amouru, Bernard. La Vie posthume des "Pensées." Des "Pascalins" aux "Pascalisants." (Bloud & Gay, 20 fr.).
Belloc, Hilaire. Characters of the Reformation. (Sheed & Ward, 10/6).
Bertrand, Louis. The Art of Suffering. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
Bittle, Celestine. Reality and the Mind. Epistemology. (Bruce, pp. 390).
Briefs, Goetz. Le Prolétariat industriel. (Desclée De Brouwer, 10 fr.).
Broderick, Sister Mary John. Catholic Schools in England. (Catholic University of America, pp. 187).
Chevalier, Jacques. Pascal. (Flammarion, 12 fr.).
Colby, Elbridge. English Catholic Poets. Chaucer to Dryden. (Bruce, 9/6).
Curtis, Edmund. Calendar of Ormond Deeds. Vol. III. (Stationery Office, 20/–).
Dangerfield, George. The Strange Death of Liberal England. (Constable, 12/6).
Delaporte, R. P. A. Saint Vincent de Paul. Ses Maximes et ses Exemples. (Téqui, pp. 349).
Desrocquettes, J. H. Simple Introduction to Plainsong. (Desclée, 1 belga).
Donovan, John. The Authorship of St. John's Gospel. (Burns Oates, 10/6).
Doyle, William. A Year's Thoughts. New Edition. (Longmans, 2/6).
Duhourcau, Francois. Francois d'Assise. (Editions Spés, 15 fr.).
Dunstan, Father. They that are Christ's. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).
Fitzhenry, Edna. Henry Joy McCracken. (Talbot Press, 2/6).
Folliet, Joseph. La Spiritualité de la Route. (Bloud & Gay, 10 fr.).
Gaell, Rene. Carillons de Lourdes. (Téqui, 10 fr.).
Garrigou-Lagrange, R. La Prédestination des Saints et la Grâce. (Desclée, 20 fr.).
Gastoue, A. L'Eglise et la Musique. (Grasset, pp. 237).
Gibbons, John. Le Chemineau de Chrétienté. (Bloud & Gay, 14 fr.).
Gildea, Denis. Mother M. Arsenius of Foxford. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
Gourlez, Paule. Don Juan d'Autriche et la Victoire de Lépante. (Bloud & Gay, 6 fr.).
Hardman, Sister Anne. English Carmelites in the Penal Times. (Burns Oates, 15/–).
Hort, Greta. Sense and Thought. A Study in Mysticism. (Allen & Unwin, 8/6).
Hull, Ernest R. Love, Courtship and Marriage. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).

Books Received—*continued*

Jacquin, A. M. Histoire de l'Eglise. Tome I: L'Antiquité chrétienne; Tome II: Le Haut Moyen Age. (Desclée De Brouwer, 35 fr. each).
James, Father. A Preface to Life. Is Life Worth Living? (Bruce, 6/6).
James, Father. African Adventure. (Father Mathew Record, 3/6).
James, Father. Wherefore this Waste? (Burns Oates, 6/–).
Kearney, John. The Meaning of the Mass. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Lewandowski, Maurice. André-Marie Ampère. (Grasset, 7.50 fr.).
Lindworsky, Johannes. The Psychology of Asceticism. (H. W. Edwards, 5/–).
Livragne, Gilbert. Marie Notre Soeur. (Bloud & Gay, 10 fr.).
MacCarthy, B. G. The Psychology of Genius. Studies in Browning. (University of London Press, 4/6).
MacCarthy, J. B. Green Leaves; Watchers for the Dawn; Kingship; Widows are so fascinating; Rolling Stones; The Ugly Duckling. (Gill, 1/6 each).
McGrath, Michael. The Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan, Part I. (Published for the Irish Texts Society by Simpkin Marshall, 25/–).
McHugh, Roger J. Henry Grattan. (Talbot Press, 2/6).
Martindale, C. C. The Foundress of the Sisters of the Assumption. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Massis, Henri. Pascal. Les Pensées classées et commentées. (Grasset, 25 fr.).
Maxwell, Constantia. Dublin under the Georges, 1714-1830. (Harrap. 12/6).
Mersch, Emile. Le Corps Mystique du Christ. Tomes I-II. (Bruxelles: L'Edition Universelle, 90 fr.).
Montessori, Maria. The Secret of Childhood. (Longmans, 7/6).
O Dubhda, Peadar. Rannta Ceoil. (Dundalgan Press, 3/6).
O'Rahilly, Thomas. The Goidels and their Predecessors. (Milford, 2/6).
O'Sullivan, Vincent. Aspects of Wilde. (Constable, 10/–).
Perreyve, Henri. Pensées Choisies extraites de ses Oeuvres. (Téqui, pp. 245).
Pohle, Joseph. Lehrbuch der Dogmatik. Neubearbeitet von Michael Gierens, S.J. Band I. (Herder, 10 M.).
Prumm, Karl. Der Christliche Glaube und die Altheidnische Welt. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Hegner, 44 M.).
Qureshi, Anwar. Agricultural Credit. Being a Study of Agricultural Credit Administration in U.S.A. (Pitman, 7/6).
Ross, W. D. Aristotle's Physics. (Clarendon Press, 36/–).
Seiterich, Eugen. Die Gottesbeweise bei Franz Brentano. (Herder, 4 M.).
Robertson, Manning. Dun Laoghaire. Its History, Scenery and Development. (Eason, 2/6).
Selincourt, Basil de. Anne Douglas Sedgwick. A Portrait in Letters. (Constable, 7/6).
Sherren, Wilkinson. St. Thomas More for Children. (Burns Oates, 1/–).
Steuart, R. H. J. Diversity in Holiness. (Sheed & Ward, 6/–).
Stevenson, Lionel. The Wild Irish Girl. Life of Lady Morgan. (Chapman & Hall, 15/-).
Testu, R. P. Le Chanoine Henri Chaumont. (Téqui, 3 fr.).
Thurston, Herbert. Butler's Lives of the Saints. Vol. X. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Valson, C. André Marie Ampère. (Vitte. 4th ed., 10 fr.).
Van Zeller, Hubert. Prophets and Princes. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Vaux, G. de. Le Père Jean Roothan, S.J. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.).
Waddell, Helen. The Desert Fathers. (Constable, 7/6).
Wicksteed, Joseph. The Challenge of Childhood. Essay on Nature and Education. (Chapman & Hall, 10/6).
Williams, Joseph J. Africa's God. II—Dahomey, Anthropological Series. (Boston College Press, $1).
Williamson, Benedict. Cecilia. Another of S. Thérèse's Little Legion. (Browne & Nolan, 3/6).

Westminster Version of the New Testament. Vol. II. The Gospel according to St. John by Rev. W. S. Reilly, S.S.; The Acts of the Apostles, by Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S.J. (Longmans, 10/6).
The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. I: A–Arg. The Shahan Memorial Edition. (New York: Gilmary Society, 10 dollars).
The Catholic Who's Who; The Catholic Directory. (Burns Oates, 5/– and 3/6).

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THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE.

ESTABLISHED 1825

Subscribed Capital, 100,000 Shares of £20 each, £2,000,000
Paid up Capital..... £500,000. | Reserve Fund..... £700,000

DIRECTORS:

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, Chairman.

THOMAS LEVINS MOORE.
PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY.
CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN.
WILLIAM ROBERT NOLAN.
CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR.
ALFRED T. COLLINS, General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 27th day of July, 1936.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1936, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£40,596	12	8
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	22,820	10	6
	£63,417	3	2
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	27,500	0	0
To next Account	25,917	3	2
	£63,417	3	2

The Reserve Fund now stands at £700,000.

The Directors regret to report that Mr. Jeremiah Buckley, who was appointed at the last General Meeting of the Shareholders held on the 27th day of January, 1936, as Auditor for the then ensuing year, has, owing to serious illness, been unable to act. The Directors appointed Mr. James FitzHarris (of Messrs. Kean & Co.), Chartered Accountant, to fill the casual vacancy so caused.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 13th July, 1936.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1936. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 : amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	989,283 16 2
Reserve Fund	700,000 0 0	,, Investments, viz. :—	
Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0		War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	4,999,143 2 4
Less : Held by the Bank ... 43,398 0 0	506,602 0 0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	302,992 16 8
Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	10,720,831 1 4		6,291,419 15 2
Sundry Agents	27,004 1 9	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	6,038,774 19 0
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	5,118 13 0	,, Sundry Agents	7,933 18 2
Profit and Loss Account ... £63,417 3 2		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	174,844 6 11
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	53,417 3 2		
	£12,512,972 19 3		£12,512,972 19 3

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1936.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	108,185 10 5	By Balance from last Account ...	22,820 10 6
Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	148,782 3 1
Dividend to be paid in August, 1936, subject to deduction of Income Tax £ s. d. ... 27,500 0 0			
Balance to next Acct. 25,917 3 2	53,417 3 2		
	£171,602 13 7		£171,602 13 7

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have quired in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing ofit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on th June, 1936, is in excess of the amount at which they and in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and lls in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's fairs according to the best of my information and the explana- ons given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company id the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JAMES FITZHARRIS (KEAN & Co.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

UBLIN, 13th July, 1936.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
CHARLES E. LAMBKIN,
CHARLES H. O'CONOR,
} *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

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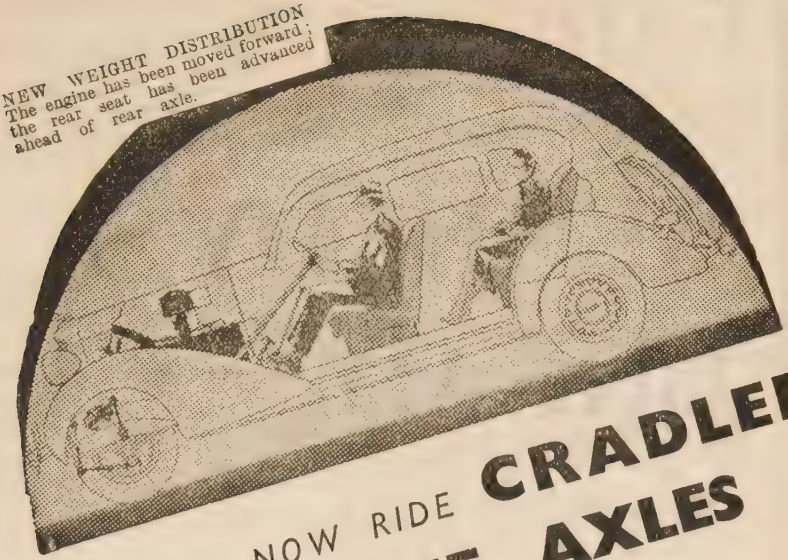

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